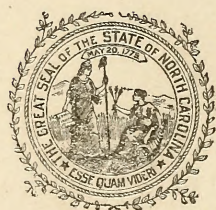


THE SOUTH'S BURDEN

By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN GRADY.

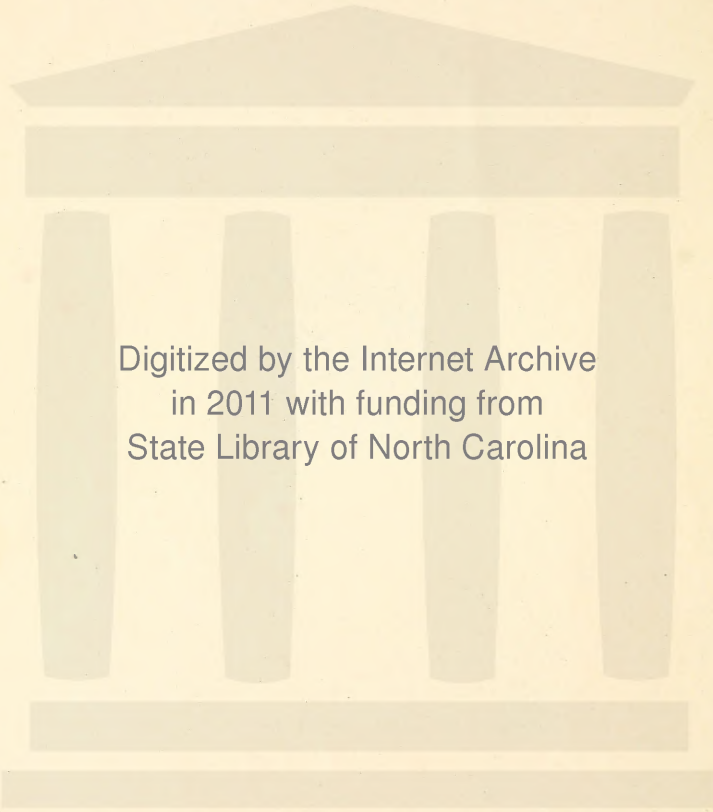
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THE SOUTH'S BURDEN;

—OR—

The Curse of Sectionalism

—IN THE—

UNITED STATES

By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN GRADY,
Author of "The Case of the South Against the North."

GOLDSBORO, N. C.
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1906.

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ERRATA.

On page 7, 16th line, insert *not* between "were" and "willing."

On page 41, 4th line from bottom, substitute more for "move."

On page 56, 9th line, substitute fiction for "flection."

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DR. ROBERT L. DABNEY.

Nearly 40 years ago Dr. Robert L. Dabney, who had served for a time on Stonewall Jackson's staff, said this:

"Few minds and consciences have that stable independence which remains erect and undebauched amidst the disappointments, anguish and losses of defeat, the desertion of numbers, and the obloquy of a lost cause. Hence it has usually been found in the history of subjugated nations that they receive at the hands of their conquerors this crowning woe—a despondent, cringing and cowardly spirit. The wisest, kindest, most patriotic thing which any man can do for his country amidst such calamities is to aid in preserving and reinstating the tottering principles of his countrymen; to teach them, while they give place to inexorable force, to abate nothing of righteous convictions and self-respect. And in this work he is really a benefactor of the conquerors as well as of the conquered; for thus he aids in preserving that precious seed of men who are men of principle and not of expediency; who alone (if they can) are able to reconstruct society, after the tumult of faction shall have spent its rage, upon the foundations of truth and justice. The men at the North who have stood firmly aloof from the errors and crimes of this revolution, and the men at the South who have not been unmanned and debauched by defeat—these are the men whom Providence will call forth from their seclusion when the fury of fanaticism shall have done its worst, to repair its mischiefs and save America from chronic anarchy and barbarism, if, indeed, any rescue is designed for us."

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

After Washington issued his "Proclamation of Neutrality" at the beginning of the war between Napoleon and the British, the opposition to its doctrines, which ultimately led to the overthrow of the Federal party, was met by Alexander Ham-

ilton in a series of letters, whose *nom de plume* was *Pacificus*; and to these James Madison replied under the *nom de plume* of *Helvidius*. In Madison's IVth letter we find this interesting passage, which the student of our history must regard as an utterance of almost plenary inspiration:

"But it is not to be forgotten that these doctrines, though ever so cleverly disproved, or ever so weakly defended, remain before the public a striking monument of the principles and views which are entertained and propagated in the community.

"It is also to be remembered that, however the consequences flowing from such premises may be disavowed at this time, or by this individual, we are to regard it as morally certain that, in proportion as the doctrines make their way into the creed of the government, and the acquiescence of the public, every power that can be deduced from them will be deduced and exercised sooner or later by those who may have an interest in so doing. The character of human nature gives this salutary warning to every sober and reflecting mind. And the history of government in all its forms and in every period of time ratifies the danger. A people, therefore, who are so happy as to possess the inestimable blessing of a free and defined constitution, cannot be too watchful against the introduction, nor too critical in tracing the consequences, of new principles and new constructions, that may remove the landmarks of power."

The views of Hamilton which Madison was combating were in perfect accord with his sentiments as expressed in the Convention of 1787, on the 29th of June, as Yates informs us:

"To avoid the evils deducible from these observations, we must establish a general and national government, completely sovereign, and annihilate the State distinctions and State operations; and, unless we do this, no good purpose can be answered."

PREFACE.

“History, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices * * and shows by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasoning whatsoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honor and probity.”—Rollin.

The life of a generation of human beings, unlike that of many other animals, is not long enough for us to study, with satisfaction and profit, the laws of heredity and that regulation of the Divine Government which imposes the iniquities of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation; hence what knowledge we have along these lines to guide our footsteps in the path of rectitude and show us how to pursue such a course of life as will insure better conditions for our posterity, must be little else than what our mothers and fathers have told us. In all the early ages of the world this narrow field of vision included less of the conduct of communities than of families, the complicated life of the former adding to the difficulty of tracing and co-ordinating any series of related phenomena. Hence generations came and went before even the world's most cultured intellects began to see that there is a philosophy of human life—that the happiness of to-day is a result of forces which operated yesterday, that the righteous man descended from righteous parents, and that the moral standard of a community of to-day can be nothing but the original, or an amended form of, that which was ordained and enforced by generations long since passed away.

Since the invention of the printing press, however, and the dissemination throughout the reading world of the records which the Historians have preserved, the foundations of the philosophy of life have become the common property of students in all lands, and, although imperfect, one-sided or sectional views of nearly all the famous movements which have convulsed nations and tribes have come to us, we can trace with reasonable satisfaction the rise, decay and fall of

many of the proud cities and countries of ancient and mediæval times, and measure the destructive workings of the follies which led to their undoing; and of the nations and tribes of the modern world, with its free press, we can trace with little danger of error the progress to a higher life or to decay, and prepare our minds to agree with Draper when, after giving some details of Spain's shocking brutalities in Mexico and Peru, he says: "Had not her punishment overtaken her, men would have surely said, 'There is no retribution, there is no God!'"

This train of thinking had much to do with the preparation of this volume. The overwhelming and the devastation of the Southern Confederacy, the imperious and aggressive demeanor of our conquerors, and the submissive spirit dictated by the prudence of their victims, have thus far conferred upon the winning side almost a monopoly of the book market, and all over the South as well as over the North so-called "Histories" are magnifying the virtues of the North and the imperfections of the South, misrepresenting the fundamental facts on which must rest the world's estimate of the claims of the contending sections, and exalting to high places in "Halls of Fame" some unworthy "heroes" whom, no doubt, future generations will view with surprise.

Such "history," of course, is valueless for the great purpose of being "a school of morality for all mankind", and for enabling future generations to trace to the motives and the conduct of the actors in that great drama any of the social and moral conditions which ought to point back with unerring finger to their causes.

But times have changed; most of the actors in that great conflict have passed away, carrying their sectional bitterness with them; and when in a few more years the angry passions of those times shall become a tradition, the Northerner or the Southerner in whose bosom the fires of a lofty and unbought patriotism are burning will demand a truthful narrative of motives and events before and during the period of the war. To meet this demand many works have been writ-

ten, dealing with almost every possible cause of sectional antagonism, and apparently leaving nothing unsaid; but, believing that I had discovered a new line of defense for the South, I have prepared this work for future generations to read.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

I was born in Duplin County, North Carolina, on the 10th of October, 1831, my great-great grandfather having come over from Ireland in 1739. By intermarriages his blood in my veins is mingled with that of the Whitfields, the Bryans and the Sloans. The John Grady who was killed at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge was his son.

My father, Alexander Outlaw Grady, owned, first and last, twenty five or thirty slaves; and, during my childhood the little negroes were my play mates. As I grew up I hunted and fished with the negro boys, and worked with them in the fields and woods except during about three months each winter when I attended the "old field schools". As I approached manhood my father and his neighbors employed a classical scholar to teach their children ten months in each year; and in 1851 I became a pupil of Rev. James M. Sprunt, a Scotchman, who taught in the Grove Academy at Kenansville. In September, 1853, I entered the University of North Carolina, where I received the degree of A. B. in June, 1857. Then I returned to Kenansville and taught two years with my old Master, at the end of which period I was chosen Professor of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences in Austin College, then located at Huntsville, Texas. There I began work in the summer of 1859, and taught till the war caused the Institution to suspend operations. Soon afterwards typhoid fever prostrated me, and unfitted me for military service till May, 1862. Then I enlisted in a Cavalry Company, which became K of the 25th Regiment; but in a few months Gen. Hindman dismounted us, and we served on foot till the

close of the war. On Jan. 11, 1863, we were captured at Arkansas Post—about 3,000 of us and 45,000 of the enemy, with 13 gun-boats—and carried to Camp Butler, near Springfield, Illinois. Having been exchanged about the middle of April, 1863, we were sent to Bragg's army, which was then at Tullahoma, Tenn., and in this army we served until the war ended. On the morning of the battle of Bentonville I went to Peace Institute Hospital in Raleigh, where typhoid fever kept me till May 2, 1865.

After the war I taught school, farmed, served as a Justice of the Peace, and was County Superintendent of Schools, in Sampson and Duplin Counties till 1891. From that year till 1895 I served as a Representative in Congress; and after that I returned to farming. But during the last four years I have been in Clinton teaching and pursuing literary work.

B. F. GRADY.

Clinton, N. C., May, 1906.

INTRODUCTION.

Some months ago we had a visitor in Clinton, Mr. John Charles Hines, of Faison, who was a Lieutenant in Capt. E. F. Shaw's Company of the 5th North Carolina Cavalry in the War between the States; and, as Mr. Hines was one of the 600 Confederate prisoners who, in the latter part of September, 1864, were placed on Morris Island, Charleston Harbor, and exposed to the shells from Confederate batteries, it occurred to me to be a duty we owe to the descendants of Mr. Hines and to all future generations of our people to prepare and publish as accurate a statement of that terrible experience as could be gathered from his recollections, from the few notes he kept, and from other accessible sources. This obligation seemed the more binding in view of the fact that misrepresentations of the motives and the conduct of the contending sections as to their treatment of prisoners are passing into History as truths.

Fortunately, I learned from Mr. Hines that Capt. Seymour Anderson Johnson, of Warsaw, who was a Second Lieutenant in the 23rd Virginia Infantry, was a fellow-prisoner; and from him I obtained a condensed copy of his diary, which, he said, was "intended for his grand-children to read."

The importance of preserving for coming generations of our people a truthful statement of the treatment of these unfortunate prisoners was impressed on my mind thirty-five years ago when I listened to the story of their sufferings as told by the late Murdock McLeod, of Moore county, who was my associate in the Clinton Male Academy.

But when I began the search for the necessary data, and applied to Col. John L. Cantwell, of Wilmington, for information as to the volumes of the War Records I should consult, he sent me a copy of "The Immortal Six Hundred," a work written by Major J. Ogden Murray, of Winchester, Virginia, who was one of these prisoners; and since he has fully covered the ground, leaving nothing more to be said as to the cruelty of the Federal officials, I was induced by the investigations I had already made to enter upon an enquiry into the causes of the sectional conflict, and to fix, if possible, the ultimate responsibility for that conflict; and to bring in the treatment of these prisoners as only one of a long series of inexcusable

aggressions on the liberties, the rights, and the sensibilities of the Southern people.

With this object in view, I was necessarily carried back to a comparison of the intellectual, moral and sentimental forces which dominated in the two sections of the country when first settled, and to follow these forces as they co-operated or opposed each other all along down the generations. But such a comparison must be somewhat imperfect because the records on which it must be founded, when preserved at all, are not always trustworthy; however, causes can sometimes be inferred from results, and, when the inferred causes accord with those which have been preserved, we may confidently accept them as beyond reasonable dispute.

It is the invariable custom of students of History to assume that, because the Englishmen who settled in the South and the Puritans who settled in New England descended from the same ancestors—John Fiske said they “belonged to one and the same stratum of society”—the mental, moral and sentimental qualities of the settlers in the two sections were the same; but identity of ancestry proves nothing as to the qualities which distinguish one man from another. Our every day’s experience satisfies us that this is true. Hence, if I assume, as I do, that the moral and sentimental forces which laid the foundations of social and political life in the two sections possessed shades of difference, and that in them can be found the explanation of the sectional struggle, the reader will perhaps admit that I am not ignoring the experiences common to all men, nor deviating from the path of legitimate argumentation.

In our search for the cause of this struggle we shall make a serious mistake if we fail to bear in mind the correct answer to a question which seems to have been universally ignored by our Historians. It is this: By whom were the people of New England appointed to supervise conditions in the South, to act as our *censor morum*, and to feel a consuming remorse when a crime was committed in the South?

This appointment has been taken for granted in all the school books, so-called Histories of the United States, debates in Congress, and the newspapers. And even as late as 1901 Prof. Prescott, of Harvard University, in a letter to Gov. Ay-

cock, of North Carolina, complimenting him for the sentiments expressed in his inaugural address, informed him that our New England Supervisors "have not been able to feel that they could trust the purposes and the candor of the people of the South."

The "conscience" of these New Englanders drove many of them into Canada, as is remembered by many persons now living, where they would be freed from any moral responsibility for the sins of the South. In our effort to settle this question let us bear in mind that Massachusetts inaugurated the resistance to the British government; that, as the late Senator Hoar admitted a few years before his death, the Southerners "had not the slightest particle of personal interest in the conflict", because "their trade was not affected", and conditions were such that "they would probably have found it more for their advantage to buy what they had to buy of England than of Massachusetts", and that these Southerners went to the assistance of Massachusetts, contributing to the war a larger per cent. of their military population than she did. Bearing these things in mind let us decide by what law or regulation of civilized humanity these Southerners could have expected that such a noble and unselfish support of the claims of a suffering Colony was the first step on the road to submission to the political and "moral" supervision of that Colony, enforced by generations of unprovoked aggressions.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PURITANS AND THE CAVALIERS.

The history of the human race, so far as it has been preserved, teaches that contact with strangers, whether social, commercial, or hostile, has been the most potent force in the intellectual development of families, tribes and nations, and in substituting for the illiberal, selfish and cruel instincts of the savage those sentiments of justice, humanity and charity which are the glorious inheritance of the race's best. This fact explains the superiority and mastership, in war, in the arts, in the sciences and in civic virtues, of the peoples who lived on the shores of the Mediterranean; it explains the result of the struggle between the Greeks and the Persians, between Caesar and Ariovistus, and William the Norman and Harold. It explains why all the famous struggles in England, up to the time of the unifying influence of the steam-engine, the spinning-jenny and the power loom, were sectional, the enlightened Southeast against the other parts of the island, as English Historians assure us. It explains why so many people living in the secluded mountain sections of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, united with those who invaded their States in 1861-5. And it explains this passage in D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation:

"The Reformation was already spreading among the inhabitants of the plain (Switzerland), and beginning to ascend the sides of the mountains; and the more ancient cantons, which had been as the cradle and are still the citadel of Switzerland, seemed in their Alpine enclosures alone to adhere faithfully to the religion of their fathers. These mountaineers * * * * struggled against the Reformation that came to change their faith and worship, as at this very hour they contend against the roaring waters which tumble from their snow-clad hills, or against those modern notions and politics which have established themselves in the adjoining cantons. They will probably be the very last to lay down their arms before that two-fold power which has already planted its standard on the adjacent hills, and is steadily gaining ground upon these conservative communities."

And the history of England teaches us that, while the Cav-

alier belonged to the class whose wealth and privileges had for ages enabled them to enjoy the advantages of travel and of intercourse with the most enlightened and refined persons in other lands, the Puritan had descended through many generations from the poor, the villain, the vassal, the slave of the landlord; that even his spiritual guide was, as Hume informs us, "a man of low birth and mean education"; and that his generations of subordination to haughty masters and of enforced toil for others had bred in him a bitterness which time intensified, and a spirit of retaliation which boundless wealth and privileges could hardly mollify in the third or fourth generation. He became the Israelite while the Cavalier became the Egyptian whom it was his right to "spoil".

Turning now to the religious side of the Puritan's life, which was irreconcilably antagonistic to that of the Cavalier, and which afflicted England with her most terrible political convulsion, the historians have preserved for us only imperfect pictures, and even these confuse us with their mingled religious and political shadings; but, whatever their shortcomings may be, I prefer to copy them rather than run the risk of appearing to misrepresent the evidence they bring us.

Macaulay says: "In 1603 Queen Elizabeth died, and was succeeded by James of Scotland. A change, to some extent, had taken place in the principles and practices of the Puritans. The persecutions which they had undergone had been severe enough to irritate, but had not been severe enough to destroy. They had not been tamed into submission, but baited into savageness and stubbornness. After the fashion of oppressed sects, they mistook their own vindictive feelings for emotions of piety; encouraged in themselves, by reading and meditation, a disposition to brood over their wrongs; and, when they had worked themselves up into hating their enemies, imagined that they were only hating the enemies of heaven. In the New Testament there was little, indeed, which, even when perverted by the most disingenuous exposition, could seem to countenance the indulgence of malevolent passions. But the Old Testament contained the history of a race selected by God to be witnesses of His unity and ministers of His vengeance, and especially commanded by Him to do many things which, if done without His special command,

would have been atrocious crimes. In such a history it was not difficult for fierce and gloomy spirits to find much that might be distorted to suit their wishes. The extreme Puritans, therefore, began to feel for the Old Testament a preference, which, perhaps, they did not distinctly avow even to themselves, but which showed itself in all their sentiments and habits. They paid to the Hebrew language a respect which they refused to that tongue in which the discourses of Jesus and the epistles of Paul have come down to us. They baptized their children by the names, not of Christian saints, but of Hebrew patriarchs and warriors”.

In Macaulay's essay on Milton, in the *Edinburgh Review*, he said these things of the Puritans:

“They were not men of letters. * * * The ostentatious simplicity of their dress, their sour aspect, their nasal twang, their stiff posture, their long graces, their Hebrew names, the Scriptural phrases which they introduced on every occasion, their contempt for human learning, their detestation of polite amusements, were indeed fair game for laughers. * * * Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on the intolerable brightness, and to commune with Him face to face. * * * The very meanest of them * * * had been destined, before heaven and earth were created, to enjoy a felicity which should continue when heaven and earth should have passed away. Events which shortsighted politicians ascribed to earthly causes had been ordained on his account. For his sake empires had risen and flourished and decayed”.

In a work entitled “*God in the Mount, Or, A Parliamentary Chronicle*,” whereof the title page has been lost, this remarkable manifestation of Divine justice appears:

“On the 20th day of June, 1643, one Mistris Haughton wife to Master William Haughton of Prickmarsh within the Parish of Kirkham in Lefield in Lancaster, was delivered of a childe still-borne, which had no head, but yet having two eares, two eyes, and a mouth in the brest of it, the hands turning backwards to the elbowes, with a cleft down the back
* * * * *

“The parents of this Monster are notorious Papists. * * But that which is most remarkable herein, and clearly demonstrates this prodigious birth to be a direct judgment of the

Lord for desperate malignity against the Lord's choice ones, is this", &c.

Hume says (vol. IV, p. 285) that the Puritan of King James's time delivered "familiar addresses to his Maker, of whom he believed himself the peculiar favorite".

Rev. John Robinson's last sermon, which was intended to give the Pilgrims the determining incentive to embark for New England, was founded on I Samuel, XXIII, 3-4:

"And David's men said unto him, 'Behold, we be afraid here in Judah: how much more then if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines?'

"Then David enquired of the Lord yet again. And the Lord answered him and said, 'Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand'".

Berard's History of England says of the struggle against Charles I: "There were nearly as many preachers as soldiers in the parliament's army, and much time was spent in listening to sermons and attending prayer meetings. The Puritans looked upon their enemies as Amalekites, Philistines, and idolaters, whom they, as God's chosen people, were commissioned to punish and overthrow".

C. B. Taylor's History of the United States informs us that the Puritans claimed New England as their "inheritance", from which it was their duty to "drive out the heathen"; that they came over "in the ark which God in His providence had directed them to prepare"; and that they came "for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith". "Their trust", says Taylor, "was in Him who hath said to His chosen, 'The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms: and He shall thrust out the enemy from before thee; and shall say, Destroy them'".

Now taking this picture along with us, let us follow the Puritan emigrants to New England, and compare their religious pretensions and their moral code in their new home with what they were in the old one.

The first comers were called "Separatists", because they had formally withdrawn from the established church; but they preferred to be recognized as Pilgrims—a Pilgrim, as Boyer informs us, being "a devout traveler to some holy place"—; their original home was Norwich in the county of Norfolk in the eastern part of England; at first they sought

a place of rest and religious peace in Holland; but in 1620 one hundred of them came to Massachusetts, and settled at Plymouth. Three years before they came a plague broke out among the Indians in the eastern part of Massachusetts, and almost destroyed them, so that there was no one to oppose their settling there. Referring to this C. B. Taylor says in his *History of the United States*:

“Infinite wisdom directed their course to their prepared habitation. We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, how thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plant them”.

One of the first significant regulations they established was to have everything in common—all the food belonging to the Colony in one storehouse, to which each family had access without money and without price. It was soon discovered, however, that even saints will not labor for bread and meat unless there is some compulsion; and after a two years’ trial a parcel of ground was assigned to each family. Thereafter, we are told in *Frost’s History of the United States*, “no general want of food was experienced”.

There was, however, terrible suffering the first winter and a fearful mortality among these Pilgrims, and about half of them perished; of which Taylor informs us that “the ancient writers intimate that this mortality appears to have been the means, under a wise Providence, of preserving the colony from perishing by famine”.

This close relationship between the Puritan and his Maker furnishes us a key to the solution of many interesting questions which arise as we contemplate the progress of events in the career of that remarkable people. For example, while the heavens declared the glory of God and the firmament was showing His handiwork, the hills and valleys and streams of New England were ever-present testimonials of that Fatherly care which had plagued the heathen and provided a refuge for His persecuted children; and the consequent grateful contemplation of such objects may account for that preference for names as shown in Bull Run, Antietam, Chickamauga, and Pittsburg Landing instead of Manassas, Sharpsburg, Lee and Gordon’s Mills, and Shiloh. But more interesting than this is the fact that a customary pious appeal to their Maker has been misunderstood and denounced by their

enemies as profane swearing, and the ignorant or scornful French adopted the words of the prayer as their name for an Englishman. And the study of the ways of the Creator which this close relationship permits has led to the astounding discovery that the divine government adjusts itself to the changes in the moods and plans of men. Our attention was first called to this by the President of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, when in a sermon delivered in New Haven, Connecticut, in March, 1905, to the students of Yale College, he said: "The original prohibitionists got their message from God, and wrote it in the Constitution of some States; but where are they now? God has left them, and they are fighting a losing battle. * * And so with the race question. The abolitionist proved himself a Christian, and the 'reconstructionist' did a good work. But we are coming to understand the delicacy of the situation as they did not", &c. Or, enlarging the view, God was with them when they burnt witches, expelled Roger Williams, enslaved Indians, gave rum for black men on the coast of Africa, &c.; but He has changed His mind.

But these Pilgrims were not consistent; their reliance on their Maker did not prevent them from turning again sometimes to the weak and beggarly elements; they sought the protecting friendship of Massasoit, and with him entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, which, the histories tell us, he was faithful to for fifty years.

This colony, however, while continuing to exert a marked influence in New England affairs, soon became insignificant in numbers. Settlements were made at Dover (1623), Charlestown (1628), Salem (1629), Boston (1630), Windsor (1633), Saybrook (1635), and at Hatfield and Providence (1636); and by this time there were more than twenty thousand Puritans in New England, these dispersions being the fruits of the bitter feuds which always distinguish ignorant intolerance, such as that which drove Roger Williams to Rhode Island, and twice drove William Blackstone to seek peace in the woods. Williams was driven from Salem because he was guilty of the heresy, as Bancroft informs us, that "the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul". It drove

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, also, along with many others, out of Boston because they taught with persistence that "justification is of faith and not of works," the charge of heresy being strongly supported by the suspicion of their sanctimonious accusers that they were sitting in the seats of the scornful—the suspicion being unavoidable, since their preachers, while inculcating the doctrine that faith is essential to justification, seemed to be basing their hopes of salvation on "their sour aspect, their nasal twang, their stiff posture, their long graces, their Hebrew names, the Scriptural phrases which they introduced on every occasion, their contempt for human learning", their prayers "in the corners of the streets", and the "posture or cringe" which Bacon says "cannot but move derision in worldlings." And it drove from old England thousands of others who preferred a wilderness to a country where they could not rule and were willing to be ruled.

This picture of Puritanism of the days of James I and of the early years of Charles I is sufficiently complete, in its outline, features and coloring, to guide us in forming a just judgment of the spirit and temper of the sect; but of its purposes, if indeed we can credit it with any well-defined purpose, our conception would be imperfect if we failed to go back to its original home, and follow it in its course till it ceased to be a disturber of the peace.

While the settlement of New England was going on, there were springing up in the Puritan body several dissident factions, as Levelers, Antinomians and Millenarians, or Fifth-Monarchy men, of whom Hume's picture is perhaps as satisfactory as any we can find. "Every man", he says, "had adjusted a system of religion, which, being, derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himself; and, being founded on supposed inspiration, not on any principles of human reason, had no means besides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itself to others. The Levelers insisted on an equal distribution of power and property. * * The Millenarians required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The Antinomians even insisted that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal princi-

ple more perfect and divine, were superior to the beggarly elements of justice and humanity. * * * Even those among the republicans (Puritans) who adopted no such extravagances, were so intoxicated with their own saintly character, that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges; and all professions, oaths, laws, and engagements had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them".

Such were the factional differences of Puritanism as they appear to us from one view-point; but there was another line of cleavage which made its appearance near the close of the struggle with Charles I, the bone of contention being the form of church government which should supersede the state church. Most of the Puritans insisted on government by elders, or presbyters (a word which has been corrupted into priests); but a small faction advocated the independence of each separate church, or body of believers. The head of this faction was Oliver Cromwell, perhaps the ablest man in England at that time, the man who became the guide of the Puritans in the later years of their contest with their king, and who, Carlyle said, was "always a year older than the century".

"The divisions", says Berard, "between the Presbyterians and the Independents were becoming daily (1644) more marked. The Independents accused the Presbyterians of mismanaging the war, and, moreover, of a desire to continue it, that they might keep the powers of government in their own hands"; and Hume, giving some particulars of a solemn fast which had been ordered by the parliament, says: "On that day the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning divisions in the parliament, and ascribed them entirely to the selfish ends pursued by the members. In the hands of these members, they said, are lodged all the considerable commands of the army, all the lucrative offices in the civil administration: and while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an insuperable load of taxes, these men multiply possession after possession, and will in a little time be masters of all the wealth of the kingdom. That such persons, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or insuring final success to

the war, cannot reasonably be expected". The unanimity with which these views were presented in many, if not all, of the churches, led Sir Henry Vane, Hume says, to tell the commons that "so remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit".

The result was that an act was passed relieving all members of parliament of their military offices; but on the day when resignations were to be handed in, Cromwell was conveniently absent, and his brilliant victory over the king's forces at Naseby, which took place soon afterwards, served to prevent any demand for his compliance with the law. Being thus freed from any interference with his plans by officers who were in sympathy with the majority faction, he acquired undisputed control of all the military forces; and, after four years of successful war against the king, he expelled by military force from the house of commons all the Presbyterians, who constituted a very large majority, leaving only a Rump Parliament of fifty Independents, thus illustrating the social law that the man who controls the military arm of the government, even if a representative of a small minority of the people, can substitute "military necessity" for the fundamental law of the land, and coerce obedience to his commands.

Cromwell's expulsion of those hypocrites, while due to what he considered the necessities of the situation, was perhaps hastened by his disgust at the base corruption which could clothe itself in a garb of piety and patriotism in order to conceal its execrable greed.

Soon after this "purging" of parliament, Charles was brought to the block; and the government—the Commonwealth—went into the hands of Cromwell, as Lord Protector, where it remained till his death in 1658. After this event there were two years of such disorder and factional confusion that the disgust of the majority of the people, who were not profiting by the miseries of the country, led them to welcome the restoration of the monarchy and the state church; and afterwards Puritanism ceased to be a power in politics or religion everywhere except in New England and in the new States of the West and Northwest; and here, it must be borne in mind, they had not shared in the restraining, civilizing

and liberalizing influences which experience had brought to the Puritians in England.

Having now given the evidence on which we may base our opinion of the character of the first settlers of New England, their religious convictions, their views of life and its duties, and their recognition of the rights of those not of their household, my purpose requires me to turn to the Southern Colonists, and present such facts as to their origin, character, &c., as will enable the reader to institute a just comparison between them and the Puritans of New England. It is worth while, however, to add parenthetically the following statement which Frost copies from Robertson, as it throws light on an interesting peculiarity of the Puritan faith. It refers to the Pequod war:

“The march of the troops from Massachusetts, which formed the most considerable body, was retarded by the most singular cause that ever influenced the operations of a military force. When they were mustered, previous to their departure, it was found that some of the officers, as well as of the private soldiers, were still under a covenant of works; and that the blessing of God could not be implored, or expected to crown the arms of such unhallowed men with success. The alarm was general, and many arrangements necessary in order to cast out the unclean were adopted, and to render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battle of a people who entertained high ideas of their own sanctity”.

The Cavaliers—a name which for more than a century was in the minds of the uninformed in the North applied indiscriminately to Southerners—were descended from warriors, statesmen and clergymen who had for generations shared in shaping the state and church policies of England; their wealth and social standing had enabled them to enjoy the enlightening and refining influences of travel and of intercourse with strangers; their self-interest constrained them to favor stable and just government; and pride of ancestry was their incentive to obedience to the most honorable ideals of their time. They were religious bigots, it is true; but so were all classes of people in their day. But they had read of the conversions of the Aztecs and the Peruvians, of Alva's missionary campaigns in the Netherlands, of the burning of Bruno and

Jerome of Prague, of the fires their ancestors had kindled at Smithfield, and of the burning of Latimer and Ridley; and the result was that their views of life and its duties had been changed, the animal in them had been humanized, and they were prepared to bring to Virginia the seed which sprang up in their fertile soil and bore as fruit separation of church and state, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. And it was they who gave to the colonies a Washington, a Jefferson, a Madison, a Henry Lee, and other able statesmen and warriors.

Such were the early settlers of Virginia, and, although her population was gradually increased by additions from other colonies and other countries, the domination of these settlers in the political, social and religious life of the State was never seriously threatened.

Into the other Southern colonies men came from England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Moravia, and other countries where the regulations of church or state rendered life disagreeable. Some were Catholics, some were Protestants, some were Calvinists, some were Arminians, some were Quakers, some were Lutherans, some were Hussites, and a few were Jews; and the travels of these people and their interminglings with strangers and with one another brought about a spirit of tolerance in the Southern colonies which gave the most charming coloring to that social life in the South which was the admiration of visitors, although it would have been held by John Endicott or Cotton Mather as incontrovertible proof of impiety. And, moreover, the interchanges of experiences and of the resulting views of life produced in the South that nobler type of man of whom Edmund Burke said one hundred and thirty years ago, "These people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly, and with higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the Northward"; and of whose descendants the late Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, after a life-time of inherited bitterness, said in a speech shortly before his death:

"Although my life politically and personally has been a life of almost constant strife with the leaders of the Southern people, yet as I grow older I have learned not only to respect and esteem but to love the great qualities which belong to my fellow-citizens of the Southern States. They are a noble

race. We may well take pattern from them in some of the great virtues which make up the strength as they make the glories of the free State. Their love of home; their chivalrous respect for women; their courage; their delicate sense of honor; their constancy, which can abide by an opinion or a purpose or an interest for their States through adversity and through prosperity, thro' years and through the generations, are things by which the more mercurial North may take a lesson. And there is another thing—covetousness, corruption, the low temptation of money, has not yet found any place in our Southern politics”.

To this comparison of the Southerner with the Northerner it is important to add that while the schools of the South were taught by Scotchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, and the seekers after college education in all the early years went to Harvard, Yale and other Northern seats of higher learning, thus enjoying the best opportunities for liberalizing enlightenment, the children of the North were entrusted to female teachers—“the schoolmarms”—whose place in social life denied them the liberalizing influences of the rough-and-tumble struggles of the out-door world, who were, as they are everywhere, the conservative element of the human race, and who perpetuated down the generations the likes and dislikes of their mothers; and when a college education was sought, Harvard and Yale were at their doors, so that the narrow views of life inherent in a self-conceited provincialism unfitted the graduates for dealing justly and fairly with the great questions which the progress of events forced upon the statesmanship of the United States.

Such were the people whose adherence to sinful practices grieved the souls of their pious New England guardians, and whose obstinate “arrogance”, as Allen Thorndike Rice called it, aroused “the conscience of the North”, and brought on themselves the wrath of the elect.

And such are the people who some day may be implored to aid against the poor and the oppressed in the North when they rise up against the possessors of that wealth which has been wrung from the South by iniquitous Federal laws, including her portion of the \$6,000,000,000 which, up to date, her subjugation has cost.

CHAPTER II.

THE NORTHERNER AND THE SOUTHERNER.

From the foregoing general comparison of the Southerner with the Northerner I proceed to select some of the most interesting and decisive testimony which must guide us in forming our opinions of the characteristics and distinguishing moral codes of the dwellers in the two sections.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS.

In Lawson's History of North Carolina two important statements are made:

1. The first is about the disposition of the Indians, as follows:

"They are really better to us than we are to them; they always give us victuals at their quarters: * * we do not so by them. * * We daily cheat them in every thing we sell, and esteem it a gift of Christianity not to sell to them so cheap as we do to the Christians, as we call ourselves. Pray, let me know where is found one sacred command or precept of our master, that counsels us to such behavior? Besides, I believe it will not appear but that all the wars which we have had with the savages, were occasioned by the unjust dealings of the Christians towards them. I can name more than a few, which my own enquiry has given me a right understanding of, and I am afraid the remainder (if they come to the test) will prove themselves birds of the same feather."

2. And of the intercourse of the whites and Indians in Carolina up to about 1708, he says:

"Moreover, it is remarkable that no place on the continent of America has seated an English colony so free from bloodshed as Carolina, but all the others have been more damaged and disturbed by the Indians than they have; which is worthy of notice when we consider how oddly it was first planted with inhabitants".

Now turn to Moore's Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, to Hildreth's History of the United States, or to any other competent and trustworthy authority, and we

learn that John Endicott, who was Governor and Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts from 1641 to 1665, with occasional intervals, made an expedition in 1636 against the Block Island and the Pequod Indians which was so inhuman and so barbarous that the outraged Indians rose up against the whites in what the books call the Pequod War; that in 1661 a colony of New Englanders settled near the mouth of the Cape Fear River, and having been entrusted with the education of a number of Indian children whom they promised to send to New England schools, shipped them off to the slave market in the West Indies; and that about 1676 the New Englanders exterminated the tribe which under Massasoit, its chief, had befriended them for a half-century when they sorely needed a friend, killing six-hundred men and one thousand women and children in one battle, and selling the survivors as slaves, one of these being the nine-year old grandson of Massasoit, who was disposed of in this way after "two distinguished preachers, Rev. Samuel Arnold, of Marshfield, and Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth. * * * had said, 'Butcher him'".

These atrocities, to which the history of the Southern colonies contains no parallel, could find their justification in no code of morals except that which warranted the crimes of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru.

A century or more after the extermination of Massasoit's tribe (Alice Earle's "Customs and Fashions in Old New England" informs us) the Rev. Peter Thacher (born in Milton, Mass., 1752) bought an Indian girl for fifty pounds, and being "a kindly gentleman and good Christian", or, as Alden tells us, being "prominent in local learned societies and philanthropy", he "took a good walnut stick and beat her" till she promised to obey him.

But we need not be surprised at these cruelties when we read the following extract from a letter written about 1645 by Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop, his brother-in-law:

"A warr with the Narragansett is verie considerable to this plantation, for I doubt whither yt be not synne in vs, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maynteyne the worship of the devill, which their paw wawes often do; 2lie, if upon a Just warre the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, women and children enough

to exchange for Moores, which will be more gayneful pilladge for us than we conceive. * * And I suppose you know verie well how we shall maynteyne 20 Moores cheaper than one English servant”.

QUAKERS.

In 1658, some Quakers, having migrated to Massachusetts because they supposed that religious liberty was a distinguishing feature of the system of government established there by the persecuted Puritans, a law was enacted in Boston expelling them from the colony, and providing that if any one returned he should be punished, as follows:

1. For the first offense, he should be flogged and imprisoned;
2. For the second offense, his ears should be cut off;
3. For the third offense, his tongue should be bored through with a red-hot iron; and
4. For the fourth offense, he should suffer death.

In the execution of this law John Endicott shocked the civilized people in England and in the Colonies, and his butchery of four Quakers was severely denounced by Charles II.

RELIGIOUS DISCIPLINE.

In Hawthorne's "Legends of the Province House" he gives this picture of John Endicott's method of converting unbelievers:

"In close vicinity to the sacred edifice—'meeting house'—appeared that important engine of Puritanic authority the whipping post, with the soil around it well-trodden by the feet of evil-doers who had there been disciplined. At one corner of the meeting-house was the pillory and at the other the stocks, and, by a singular good fortune for our sketch, the head of an Episcopalian and suspected Catholic was grotesquely encased in the former machine, while a fellow-criminal who had boisterously quaffed a health to the king was confined by the legs in the latter. Side by side on the meeting-house steps stood a male and a female figure. The man was a tall, lean, haggard personification of fanaticism, bearing on his breast this label, 'A Wanton Gospeller', which

betokened that he had dared to give interpretations of Holy Writ unsanctioned by the infallible judgment of the civil and religious rulers. * * *

"But among the crowd were several whose punishment would be lifelong—some whose ears had been cropped like those of puppy-dogs, others whose cheeks had been branded with the initial of their misdemeanors; one with his nostril slit and seared, and another with a halter about his neck, which he was forbidden ever to take off or to conceal beneath his garments".

TRAFFIC WITH THE DUTCH.

In Knickerbocker's History of New York this occurs:

"William Kieft determined to flood the streets of New Amsterdam with Indian money. This was nothing more nor less than strings of beads wrought out of clams, periwinkles, and other shell-fish, and called wampum. These had formed a native currency among the simple savages, who were content to take them of the Dutchmen in exchange for peltries. * * * He began by paying all the servants of the company, and all the debts of government, in strings of wampum. * * * * *

"For a time, affairs went on swimmingly; money became as plentiful as in the modern days of paper currency, and, to use the popular phrase, 'a wonderful impulse was given to prosperity'. Yankee traders poured into the province, buying everything they could lay their hands on, and paying the worthy Dutchmen their own price—in Indian money. If the latter, however, attempted to pay the Yankees in the same coin for their tinware and wooden bowls, the case was altered; nothing would do but Dutch guilders and such like 'metallic currency.' What was worse, the Yankees introduced an inferior kind of wampum made of oyster-shells, with which they deluged the Province, carrying off in exchange all the silver and gold, the Dutch herrings, and Dutch cheeses; thus early did the knowing men of the east manifest their skill in bargaining the New-Amsterdammers out of the oyster, and leaving them the shell".

INGRATITUDE AND LUST OF DOMINION.

It strikes us of to-day as remarkable that the Catholic settlers of Maryland were the first to establish religious liberty and invite persons of all creeds to migrate to their colony and assist in building a State. "Calvert", says Bancroft, "deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first * * * to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects". This invitation was accepted by many New Englanders who were anxious to leave a land where life was embittered by wars with the Pequods and fierce conflicts with Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson; and in a few years the Catholics were outnumbered by these and other immigrants. When Clayborne became aware of this fact, he renewed his rebellion against the government of the Calverts, and, the Puritans uniting with him, he overthrew it. These pious Christians then, in an assembly of the victorious party, deprived the Catholics of all civil rights—outlawed them. But in a few years internal wrangles in this Puritan body brought about the same result in Maryland as they did in England: the victims of their rage became their political masters.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

"A new book on Rhode Island by Mr. Richman", says the Springfield Republican, "gives evidences of generations of corruption, of which the following passages present the salient facts:

"As early as 1649 it was found necessary by Providence Plantations to pass an act in restraint of fraudulent voting;

"In 1666 (under the charter) a penalty of five pounds was prescribed against voting on the part of persons who were not freemen;

"Between 1710 and 1750—the paper money era—fraudulent voting and bribery were practiced with extreme boldness;

"Throughout the period of the Hopkins-Ward controversy, which did not end until 1768, votes (especially in Narragansett) were bought quite systematically; and

"In 1790 ratification of the Federal Constitution is said to

have been secured through purchased votes, those of delegates from 'back towns' ”.

WITCHCRAFT.

In Knickerbocker's New York New England Witchcraft is touched on, the salient points being as follows:

“What is particularly worthy of admiration is, that this terrible art which has baffled the studies and researches of philosophers, astrologers, theurgists, and other sages, was chiefly confined to the most ignorant, decrepit, and ugly old women in the community, with scarce more brains than the broomsticks they rode upon. * * * In the present instance, whoever was troubled with colic or lumbago was sure to be bewitched—and, woe to any unlucky old woman who lived in the neighborhood.

“It is incredible the number of offences that were detected, ‘for every one of which,’ says the Rev. Cotton Mather, in that excellent work, the History of New England, ‘we have such a sufficient evidence that no reasonable man in this whole country ever did question them; and it will be unreasonable to do it in any other’. * * * *

“The worthy judges * * * finding that neither exhortation, sound reason, nor friendly entreaty had any avail on these hardened offenders, resorted to the more urgent arguments of torture; and having thus absolutely wrung the truth from their stubborn lips, they condemned them to undergo the roasting due unto the heinous crimes they had confessed. Some even carried their perverseness so far as to expire under the torture, protesting their innocence to the last; but these were looked upon as thoroughly and absolutely possessed by the devil, and the pious bystanders only lamented that they had not lived a little longer, to have perished in the flames”.

CHAPTER III.

SLAVERY.

To the modern reader who has accepted the sectional misrepresentations of the last half-century as historical verities a comparison of the Northerner with the Southerner will be unsatisfactory unless it locates the responsibility for African slavery in the United States, since that has been regarded as the Pandora's box which was opened when the States entered into a Federal Compact.

Hence, omitting references to the South's well-known responsibility in the premises, I present here the evidence on which a fair decision can be based:

1. In 1638 the Salem slave-ship, the "Desire", brought into Massachusetts a number of negroes, and found ready sale for them. This "was not a private individual speculation", says Moore ("Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts"); "it was the enterprise of the authorities of the colony".

2. In 1639 an African queen had been brought across the waters and sold to "Mr. Maverick", as we are informed in Joselyn's Account of Two Voyages to New England; and Mr. Maverick undertook to compel her to raise him an improved breed of slaves. "This she took in high disdain beyond her slavery".

3. In 1643 the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a Confederation, agreeing among other stipulations to mutually surrender fugitive slaves.

4. In 1641, says Hildreth, "Massachusetts adopted her Body of Liberties, which "recognized and authorized the slavery of such * * strangers * * as are sold unto us".

5. 1676 was the year when Massasoit's nine-year old grandson was shipped to Bermuda and sold as a slave.

6. In 1796 John Dorsey advertised two runaway slaves in the Boston Mercury ("Young and Mims, Printers"), stating that the reward he offered for their capture and return to him should include "what the law allows". This was

sixteen years after the "powerful civilization" of Massachusetts, as was arrogantly asserted by Senator Sumner in his debate with Senator Butler, of South Carolina, in June, 1854, had "exterminated every vestige of slavery within her borders".

But African slaves proved to be unprofitable in the Northern States, and negro children in Massachusetts were "given away like puppies", as Moore informs us; but that the decay of slavery was due to the boasted superior humanity of that section is disproved by the fact that much of the shipping of the Northern States was employed in the African slave-trade all the years from 1638 to 1862. In 1861 the *Nightingale*, of Boston, commanded by Francis Bowen, was captured on the African coast with 961 negroes on board and "expecting more".

And that the business was not conducted in the dark we are assured by the fact that in October, 1905, according to the *New York Evening Post*, an insurance policy had been shown to a gentleman in that city which was issued to a New England Company, about 1860, on a cargo of slaves.

In Thomas Prentice Kettell's "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits" he says: The Duke de Larochevoucauld-Liancourt, traveling in the United States in 1795, remarks (*Voyage dans les Etats Unis*): "Nearly 20 vessels from the harbors of the Northern States are employed in the importation of negroes to Georgia and the West India Isles. * * They ship one negro for every ton burden"—a box five feet long, five feet high and four feet wide being a ton.

The African slave-trade, as we are informed by Bancroft, Spears (*American Slave-Trade*), Dubois (*Suppression of the Slave-Trade*) and others, was characterized by treachery, murder, war and revolting brutalities, the "horrors of the middle passage" almost surpassing belief, although one respectable elder in New Port, Alice Earle tells us in "Customs and Fashions in Old New England", was in the habit of returning thanks at next Sunday's meeting after the arrival of a cargo of slaves from Africa, "because a gracious overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessings of a Gospel dispensation."

And the pious intentions of those people is manifest from the following incident:

When the right to continue the slave trade till 1808 was agreed upon, the opponents of the traffic, including Virginia, secured the addition of a proviso that Congress might impose a tax of ten dollars for each slave imported; but when, in the first Congress, Bland, of Virginia, made a motion to levy this tax, so as to discourage the traffic, it was opposed by New Englanders, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, taking the lead.

An interesting picture of this phase of New England life, as given to the newspapers by Mr. George Merriam, will obviate the necessity of further search among the records. He says:

"New England had little use for slaves at home, but for slave ships she had abundant use. With sterile soil, and with the sea at her doors swarming with edible fish and beckoning to her sails, her hardy industry found its best fields on the ocean. The fisheries were the foundation of her commerce. The thrifty Yankee sold the best of his catch in Europe; the medium quality he ate himself; and the worst he sent to the West Indies to be sold as food for slaves. With the proceeds the skipper bought molasses, and carried it home, where it was turned into rum; the rum went to Africa and was exchanged for slaves; the slaves were carried to the West Indies, Virginia and the Carolinas. Rum and slaves, two chief staples of New England trade and sources of its wealth", &c.

But I deem it due to my readers to inform them that, after the House of Representatives of the first session of the first Congress had agreed upon a tariff tax of six cents per gallon on imported molasses, the New England Senators, assisted by Vice-President Adams, succeeded by methods which Maclay (*Journal*) says were discreditable in having it reduced to three cents; and afterwards, as the act shows, they got it down to two and one-half cents—a reduction which Maclay omitted to record.^a

The amount of wealth brought to New England by the

(a) To avoid the suspicion that I am misrepresenting Maclay's *Journal*, I quote a few passages: "1789, Apr. 27. * * * * I went after this to hear the debate in the House of Representatives. The duty of six cents had been reported by the Committee on Molasses. The partiality of the New England members to this article was now

slave-trade has never found its way into the records; but it must have been immense. Many of the vast fortunes which have enabled many of her proud families to live in luxury for generations owed their origin to this trade, and no doubt this "tainted money" can be now traced to the foundations of numerous monuments of the munificence of her distinguished citizens. Faneuil Hall, for example, the famous "cradle" in which "liberty" was rocked was erected in 1742 and presented to Boston by Peter Faneuil, who had acquired an immense fortune by following the slave-trade.

Such are some of the striking facts on which a decision must rest as to sectional responsibility for the wrongs done to the negro race; and the Southerner is content to abide by the decision of an impartial public.

manifest. All from their quarter was a universal cry against it.
* * * *

"May 12. * * My business with Mr. Fitzsimmons (chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means) this morning was to inform him how much I feared the cabal of the New England members in the Senate; and that, if they were not gratified in some measure on their favorite article of molasses, they would join with every member who objected to any single article, and promise him gratification in his particular humor if he would join them. * * * * It was reduced to five.

"May 25. * * I fear that our impost will be rendered in a great measure unproductive. This business is the work of the New England men. They want the article of molasses quite struck out, or, at least, greatly reduced; therefore, they will strike at everything
* * * for every conspirator must be indulged. * * *

"May 26. * * All ran smooth till we came to the molasses. Till quarter after three did the New England members beat this ground. * * *

"May 27. * * It was plain that this matter had been agreed on between the Vice-President and the New England men, and in all probability they have got some people who voted for four yesterday to promise to vote for less to-day. Dalton (Mass. Senator), however, got up and made a long speech that some of the gentlemen are absent, and particularly the gentlemen who moved for the four cents, and desired that it might be put off till to-morrow. I must declare this the most uncandid piece of proceeding that I have ever seen in the Senate. * * *

"May 28. * * The Vice-President made a speech (after the Senate had agreed to four cents), which really was to me unintelligible. * * *

"He concluded, however, that after the four cents had been carried, it was in order to move for any lower sum. Somebody whispered that he ought to get his wig dressed. Mr. Morris rose and declared it was with reluctance that he differed with the Chair on a question of order, and was beginning to argue on the subject, but the New England men, seeing their darling Vice-President likely to be involved in embarrassment for the unguarded steps he had taken in their favor," &c., &c.

As Maclay feared, the tariff act of this session was "unproductive", and it was amended in many particulars the next summer, and, while the rates on many articles were increased and a variety of new articles placed on the dutiable list, molasses was run up only one half of a cent and black quart bottles for the rum trade remained without any tax until 1816.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTIONALISM.

To the student of History nothing can be more confusing than the usually advanced explanation of sectional antagonism in the United States. This antagonism existed when African slavery was universal; it existed during the years when all the States had laws forbidding the importation of slaves; it existed during all the early years when there was an almost unanimous desire for the discovery of a safe method of liberating the slaves; and it existed while abolitionism was so detested even in Boston that William Lloyd Garrison, the leader in that crusade, was dragged through the streets of that city (1835) by a mob of "gentlemen of property and respectability".

What, then, could have been the cause of unfriendliness between the sections? If we go back to Elliot's Debates in search of it, the confusion remains; for we find the unreasonable explanation that it was due to differences of industries. Mr. Madison, after pointing out that "the staple of Massachusetts is fish and the carrying trade; of Pennsylvania, wheat and flour; of Virginia, tobacco", said: "The great danger to our general government is the great Southern and Northern interests of the continent being opposed to each other". Opposed to each other! Why should a wheat raiser be opposed to a fisherman, or a tobacco raiser be opposed to a ship owner? But, unreasonable as it appears to be, we cannot suppose that Mr. Madison was wandering far from a truthful representation of conditions then well understood—that the agricultural South wished her products carried to her customers in ships which had to compete for business in an open market, while New England wished to so adjust the provisions of the Constitution that monopolistic privileges could be granted to her ship-owners. The demand of the South was that no act regulating commerce should be passed unless it was supported by two thirds of the members of each house of the Congress. This was strongly opposed by New England, and fruitless efforts were repeatedly made by her delegates to have the provision stricken out. At last by a

“deal” they succeeded, with this result in 1814, as stated by Carey in his *Olive Branch*: “The naked fact is that the demagogues of the Eastern States, not satisfied with deriving all the benefits from the Southern States, that they would from so many wealthy colonies—with making princely fortunes by the carriage and exportation of their bulky and valuable productions—and supplying them with their own manufactures, and the manufactures and productions of Europe and the East and West Indies, to an enormous amount, and at an immense profit, uniformly treated them with outrage, insult and injury”.

If, now, we accept as true the statement in the *Olive Branch*, which was regarded as so able and so reliable that it went through ten editions, we cannot avoid the suspicion that the real foundation of sectional antagonism was New England’s assumption that, being “justified by faith without the deeds of the law”, she could conscientiously “spoil the Egyptians”.

The second noted exhibition of antagonistic sectionalism was when Mr. Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory, the ground of the violent opposition to the act being honestly avowed by New England statesmen—notably George Cabot, Timothy Pickering and Josiah Quincy—that “the influence of our (New England) part of the Union must be diminished by the acquisition of more weight at the other extremity”. Mr. Quincy went so far as to declare (in Congress) that the admission of Louisiana into the Union would “free the States from their moral obligation” to remain in the Union.

The third sectional wrangle took place over the admission of another “Louisiana Territory” State ((Missouri); and, although this was fifteen years before the mobbing of Garrison, the trumped up excuse to impose on the uninformed was that their opposition was to “the expansion of slavery”, as if spreading the slaves over a larger area would increase their numbers.

The next reerudescence of sectionalism was produced by what promised to be a settled policy of the Federal government to confer upon the industries of the North the power to levy tribute on those of the South. The power to tax foreign imports was being perverted, as it is to-day, into a

power to exclude them, and give Northern manufacturers the Southern States for a "home market". This controversy, reaching its acute stage in "nullification", produced a more wide-spread bitterness in the South than all the previous aggressions had.

The next outbreak of sectional antagonism was in Kansas, where New England "Emigrant Aid Companies" made war, not only on Southern settlers, but on military representatives of the United States, their professed object being to make Kansas a "free State"; and this rebellion against the United States has been so thoroughly misrepresented in Northern school-books, periodicals, newspapers and so-called Histories that it would require an impossible flood of truthful literature to wash away the false impressions. Hence I shall content myself with simply showing how much "humanity" there was in the crusade—how much "purer" were the North's motives than the South's.

1. In Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*, published in 1854, he says: "Whether the new line of States shall be free States, is a question deeply interesting to those who are to provide the manufactures for their consumption. Especially will it prove an advantage to Massachusetts if she creates the new States by her foresight—supply the first necessities to its inhabitants, and open in the outset communication between their homes and her ports and factories".

2. In one of Lincoln's speeches against Douglas (Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*) he said he wanted the new Territories for "white men". "I am", he declared, "in favor of this not merely (I must say it here as I have elsewhere) for our own people who are born among us, but an outlet for free white people everywhere, the world over".

3. William H. Seward, who afterwards was Lincoln's Secretary of State, delivered a speech to his Southern friends in the Senate in 1858, in which he said: "The white man needs this continent to labor upon. He must and will have it".

4. After Northern rebels had conquered Kansas, framed and adopted their Topeka Constitution, and proceeded with

the administration of her government—thus securing an addition to their “home market”—Robert J. Walker, a native of Pennsylvania and an emancipationist, was appointed Governor of Kansas by President Buchanan; and in his inaugural address he said: “Those who oppose slavery in Kansas do not base their opposition upon any philanthropic principles or any sympathy for the African race. For in their so-called Constitution, formed at Topeka, they deem that entire race so inferior and degraded as to exclude them all forever from Kansas, whether they be bond or free, thus depriving them of all rights here, and denying even that they can be citizens of the United States; for, if they are citizens, they could not constitutionally be exiled or excluded from Kansas. Yet such a clause, inserted in the Topeka Constitution, was submitted by that convention for a vote of the people, and ratified here by an overwhelming majority of the anti-slavery party”—the vote being 1778 to 453. And yet the civilized world has seldom heard such a howl as was made in New England when the United States Supreme Court decided in the Dred Scott case that an African slave did not possess the rights guaranteed in the Constitution to a “citizen” of a State.

And the hypocrisy of these people was shown in 1867, while their representatives in Congress were voting to subject the Southern States to an odious military despotism and to the rule of the negro and the carpet-bagger. In May of that year a proposed constitutional amendment to enfranchise the negroes was defeated by a majority of 8,938, the vote being nearly three to one against it.

5. In “An Appeal to the Record” William Elsey Connelley (strong friend of John Brown) tells us that Thayer’s “Emigrant Aid Company” “was organized for speculative purposes”, the freeing of Kansas from the blight of slavery being an object of secondary and incidental consideration with him; and Thayer admits as much in his “Kansas Crusade”, where he says: “My original plan was, as we have seen, to form a business company, to be conducted on business principles, able to make good dividends to its stockholders

annually, and, at its close, a full return of all the money originally invested." *

6. That "humanity" was an insignificant element among the motives of the famous leaders of the "party of great moral ideas" there is abundant evidence, but none more interesting than the following passage from a "carefully prepared and studied speech of William H. Seward delivered in the Senate on January 12, 1861 (See Wells' "Lincoln and Seward", p. 211): "I am willing to vote for an amendment to the Constitution declaring that it shall not by any future amendment be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any State".

7. In Charles Bancroft's *Footprints of Time and Analysis of our Government* he gives this reason for the subjugation of the Confederate States: "To allow the right of peaceable secession would have been ruin to the enterprise and thrift of the industrious laborer and keen-eyed business man of the North".

With all this testimony in mind bearing on the question of "humanity" at the time when B. F. Wade, Brown and many other honored representatives of the party of "great moral ideas" were hoping to see a servile insurrection in the South, let us return to the early days of the Federal Union and ascertain, if we can, whether the New Englander's concern for the welfare of the negro was the same in John Hancock's days as in those of Charles Sumner. My authorities are Moore and Bigelow.

1. In 1788, while the towns of Massachusetts were suing each other about the support of shiftless free negroes who were wandering from town to town, and the courts were ordering them back to their home towns, the legislature of the State passed an act forbidding free negroes and mulattoes from other States (unless with satisfactory certificates in their pockets that they were citizens of those States) to remain in her borders more than two months, providing that they should be flogged for disobedience of the law.

* It seems that New England's humanitarians never lost sight of the dollar. In Ewing's "Northern Rebellion and Southern Secession" we learn that as far back as 1818 "The Horrors of Slavery", by John Kenrick, of Boston, advocated the emancipation of all the slaves and their colonization in Louisiana, the object of this colonization being that they would furnish a valuable "home market" for New England manufacturers and pedlers.

2. In the preceding year (1787) the Congress of the Confederation passed an Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory, in which, according to a land deal with the "Ohio Company of Associates" (composed almost entirely of Massachusetts gentlemen), an anti-slavery clause was added, with a proviso that fugitive slaves found in the Territory should be delivered to their owners.

3. This Company and the Scioto Company (composed mostly of New Yorkers) purchased 5,000,000 acres of Ohio land at about 8 cents per acre; carried and settled there a large colony from New England and New York; and when these people organized their State government in 1802, they denied to colored men the right to move to Ohio from other States unless some responsible white man would give a satisfactory bond in the sum of \$500 that they "should not come upon the town" to be supported. And as late as 1851, when their descendants adopted a new Constitution, the ballot was denied to the negro. Was this all? No! In October, 1867, these people gave a majority of 50,629 against a Constitutional amendment designed to confer the ballot upon the negro—the same year in which the Southern States were placed under the control of the negro and the "carpet-bagger".

Thus the evidence seems conclusive that demagogues, designing politicians and bounty-fed classes in the North created and kept up a real or pretended crusade against the Southern slave-holder in order to promote ambitious schemes, gratify an unprovoked animosity, or conceal avaricious designs. It was during all the years up to Secession wholly of the "stop-thief" order, if we except a few sincere friends of the slave whose earnestness was usually in direct proportion to their ignorance of conditions in the South and of the difficulties in the way of the emancipationist.

It appears beyond dispute, then, that sectionalism in the United States was the child of a detestable avarice which found its justification in an offensive assumption of moral superiority; and it is no stretch of the imagination to suppose that the entrance of the Southern States into the Union would have been an impossibility if the mass of the people had pre-

viously had an opportunity to learn that, as Maclay said, there was "very little candor in New England men", and that they would "cabal against and endeavor to subvert any government which they have not the management of".

A fitting conclusion to this inquiry into the causes of sectionalism is the following account of a singular manifestation of it:

After the abolitionists of Massachusetts had caused in the South a "painful excitement", as President Jackson called it in the message of December 2, 1835, by incendiary appeals to the slaves and insulting circulars to their owners, the legislature of South Carolina passed an act forbidding the freedom of her ports to free negroes landing there from other States, and providing for their imprisonment in cases of violation of the law, these persons being regarded as missionaries of the abolition organizations which were responsible for Nat Turner's barbarities in Virginia.

South Carolina's excuse for this act was that first law of nature—self-defense—which could by no means be pleaded by Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; but a few years afterwards (1844) the legislature of Massachusetts, representing in part the people who mobbed Garrison nine years before, sent Samuel Hoar to Charleston to institute proceedings to test the constitutionality of this exclusion act—an insult without a parallel in the intercourse of the States. Of course, the authorities of the State expelled Mr. Hoar from her borders; but, unfortunately he did not carry with him the bitter resentment his State had provoked in the breasts of Southerners.

CHAPTER V.

NORTH AND SOUTH IN THE REVOLUTION.

While we are examining the records of the Revolutionary War for the purpose of comparing the conduct and the deeds of the Northerner with those of the Southerner in our search for the causes and the nature of sectionalism, we should make a serious mistake if we neglected to inquire into the origin of the war itself. In doing this, however, we cannot hope for thoroughly satisfactory results, because some of the occurrences of that war have been studiously excluded from the record, and some have been so colored as to give "our side" the best appearance. But enough has been preserved to make it clear that the war began as simply a struggle between the British government and the commercial interests of Massachusetts; and that, as the late Senator Hoar admitted, the Southern Colonies "had not the slightest particle of personal interest in it."

The following summary of events, many particulars being omitted, will be sufficient for our purpose:

Ship-building began soon after the settlement of New England to be a leading industry; and in 1727, Hildreth informs us, so many ships were built that the "shipcarpenters in the Thames complained that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated". In 1733 the mother country imposed a tax on the sugar and molasses the New England shippers imported from the West Indies, to be paid at the custom houses in Boston and other seaport towns; but this tax was usually evaded by smugglers, and the law was never strictly enforced. After the close (1764) of the French and Indian war the British government revived this old law and undertook to enforce it, the excuse being that the North American Colonies ought to bear some of the cost of that war. There was a loud outcry against this measure in Boston, which Hildreth says was importing 30,000 hogsheads of molasses annually for the manufacture of rum for the slave trade, it being, according to Dr. Belknap (quoted in Moore's Notes, &c.) "the mainspring of the traffic". After the failure of the "stamp act" the British government in 1767 passed

an act levying import taxes on glass, paper, painters' colors and tea, to be paid at the Colonial custom houses. Against this measure the commercial and fishing interests of Massachusetts, owning at that time, according to Webster's (1820) Plymouth Address, "five hundred vessels", raised an outcry which aroused the sympathies of the other Colonies; and the friction caused by evasions and resistance was the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

After the neighboring Colonies had gone to the assistance of Massachusetts and a prolonged contest seemed inevitable, it became an object of supreme importance to enlist the active sympathy of the Southern Colonies. Hence the Southerner who had most distinguished himself in military operations was selected (on the nomination of John Adams, of Massachusetts) to take the command of the New England army, the hope being entertained that his name and fame would draw others into the service.

He accepted, went to Boston, and entered upon the conduct of that war in which we are now searching for evidences of those sectional differences which may be regarded as the causes of sectional antagonism.

In November, 1775, the terms of service of most of the troops about Boston expiring, an effort was made to induce them to re-enlist; but Gen. Washington soon discovered that "half of the officers of the rank of captain were inclined to retire", and that probably their example would "influence the men"; that the privates were unwilling to re-enlist unless they "knew their colonel, lieutenant-colonel and captain; and the men from one Colony were unwilling to serve under officers from another." Of the disheartening situation Washington wrote: "Such dearth of public spirit; and such want of virtue; such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and I pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. * * Such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole that I should not be surprised at any disaster that may happen. * * Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command".

Commenting on Washington's estimate of the New Eng-

landers, Gen. Greene wrote: "He has not had time to make himself acquainted with the genius of this people. * * * The common people are exceedingly avaricious; the genius of the people is commercial, from their long intercourse with trade. The sentiment of honor, the true characteristics of a soldier, has not yet got the better of interest".

WASHINGTON'S DISGUST.

In the autumn of 1775, while Gen. Washington was laboring to secure the co-operation of Canada, having instructed Arnold to distribute "addresses" during his trip to Quebec "to conciliate the affections of these people", and to be sure "to check any attempt to plunder", he fitted out two armed vessels and sent them to cruise in the Saint Lawrence River and capture any British transports which might be found carrying supplies to the enemy at Quebec. "But failing to intercept the brigantines, they landed on the island of St. Johns, plundered the house of the governor and several private dwellings, and brought off three of the principal inhabitants prisoners"—to the everlasting disgust and mortification of Gen. Washington, who did all he could to atone for the outrage and repair the damage.

AVARICE AND RAPACITY.

On the 11th of November, 1775, while strong efforts were being made to draw the Southern Colonies into the war, a Boston privateer, the *Eagle*, belonging to Elijah Freeman Paine, captured the brigantine *Joseph*, belonging to Hewes (Joseph) & Smith (Robert), merchants of Edenton, N. C., as she was returning home with a valuable cargo, including 3,000 bushels of salt, for which outrage the Provincial Congress of North Carolina demanded of Massachusetts the punishment of "those atrocious violators of all law and justice" and a "full reparation and indemnification" to Messrs. Hewes & Smith.—N. C. Col. Recs., X, 997.

2. In November, 1776, the British brigantine *Active*, loaded with clothing for Gen. Burgoyne's army, was captured off the coast of Cape Breton by the *Alfred*, commanded by Capt. John Paul Jones. He appointed "Lieutenant Spooner" to take command of the prize, to proceed with all

possible haste to Edenton, N. C., and deliver her to "Robert Smith, Esq"., who was the partner of Joseph Hewes, through whose influence (he was a member of the Marine Committee of the first Continental Congress) Jones had received the appointment of Senior First Lieutenant in the navy. But "Lieutenant Spooner" carried the prize to Dartmouth, Massachusetts, and delivered it to his brother, who was prize agent.

A BOSTONIAN MORTIFIED.

One month after the Battle of Long Island William Hooper, one of North Carolina's delegates in the Continental Congress, wrote a confidential letter to Samuel Johnston, in which he compared the conduct of Southern and Eastern troops in that battle much to the disparagement of the latter. Mr. Hooper was a native of Boston, and this fact must shield him from any suspicion of sectional unfairness. It is a long letter, and it is all interesting; but we must be content with a few passages: "Would I could draw a veil over what ensued. The enemy attempted to land a body of troops near Haerlem where he had two brigades of Eastern forces stationed. Our men made way for them as soon as their arrival was announced. They saw, they fled, not a single man faced his enemy or fired his gun. Our brave general flew to the scene of action, but not a man would follow him. With prayers, entreaties, nay tears, he endeavored to cause them to rally. At one time sixty of the enemy, separated from the main body, had the pleasure of pursuing two complete brigades of New England Heroes. * * * Of thirteen battalions of Connecticut militia all but seven hundred deserted, and these he dismissed to save such a burdensome expense, &c., * * * I am sorry to find that my countrymen are become a byword among the nations. 'Eastern prowess', 'Nation poorly', 'Camp difficulty', are standing terms of reproach and dishonor they suffer in the comparison with the troops to the southward of Hudson River, who have to a man behaved well and borne the whole brunt on Long Island; and that for which the Eastern troops must be damned to eternal fame—they have plundered friends and foes without discrimination. * * * *

"I am told that they (New England Officers) have even stimulated their men to desertion to find an excuse to follow them; and the regimental surgeons have taken bribes to certify sickness in order to exempt soldiers from duty. It is a fact that a Connecticut Militia Brigadier induced his whole brigade to run away, and then most bravely ran away himself."

This account of New England prowess, which may have been mere hearsay, is confirmed by Gen. Greene in a letter which is quoted by Irving in his life of Washington. "We", he said, "made a miserable, disorderly retreat from New York, owing to the conduct of the militia, who ran at the appearance of the enemy's advanced guard. Fellows' and Parson's brigades ran away from about fifty men, and left his Excellency on the ground, within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of his troops, that he sought death rather than life".

GEN. RICHARD MONTGOMERY'S DESPAIR.

While Gen. Richard Montgomery (an Irishman), commanding a force composed chiefly of troops from Connecticut, New York and New Hampshire, was besieging Saint Johns, he was continually thwarted in his plans by the "want of subordination and discipline among his troops"; and writing about his embarrassments he said: "Were I not afraid the example would be too generally followed, and that the public service might suffer, I would not stay an hour at the head of troops whose operations I cannot direct. I must say I have no hopes of success, unless from the garrison's wanting provisions".

SOUTHERN MANHOOD AT CHARLESTON.

On July 2, 1776, Gen. Charles Lee, reporting to Gen. Washington about the memorable repulse of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, said: "I confess I was in pain from the little confidence I reposed in our troops, the officers being all boys and the men raw recruits.. * * * The manifest intention of the enemy was to land, at the same time the ships began to fire, their whole regulars on the east end of the island. Twice they attempted it, and twice they

were repulsed by a Colonel Thompson of the South Carolina Rangers, in conjunction with a body of North Carolina Regulars. Upon the whole, the South and North Carolina troops, and the Virginia Rifle Battalion we have here, are admirable soldiers”.

And writing of this same battle to President Pendleton, of Virginia, he said: * * “Col. Thompson of the South Carolina Rangers acquitted himself most nobly in repulsing the troops who attempted to land at the other end of the island. I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg’s or the North Carolina troops”. And of the men in the fort he said: “The behavior of the garrison, both men and officers, with Col. Moultrie at their head, I confess, astonished me”.

✧ PETTY SECTIONALISM AND PLUNDER.

The selection of a Southerner as commander-in-chief was offensive to some of the New England officers, and a few of them, notably Gen. Stark, refused to serve under a “continental officer”. When, therefore, in July, 1777, Gen. Schuyler was fleeing from Gen. Burgoyne, and sent a pressing request to Gen. Stark for aid, the latter refused to assist in checking the victorious enemy.

The Continental Congress then interfered in the controversy, and prevailed on Stark to take command of eight hundred militia and join other bodies in defeating Col. Baum’s Germans and Indians at Bennington on Aug. 16, 1777—“upon the express condition”, says Taylor, “that he should not be constrained to serve under a continental officer”—; and after the defeat and rout of the enemy, “the militia, flushed with the success of the day, abandoned the pursuit, and gave themselves up to plunder”.

And this display of narrowness is a reminder of another interesting bit of sectionalism. When Joseph Hewes, a member of the Marine Committee, was in December, 1775, urging the appointment to a captaincy in the navy of Paul Jones, whose selection had been urged by Allen and Willie Jones, of North Carolina, whose surname he had adopted, a bitter and heated debate arose between Mr. Hewes and John Adams in the committee, the latter insisting that the appointment

should go to Saltonstall, a New Englander. Hewes was out-voted, and Jones was made a Lieutenant; but Saltonstall was forced to retire from the navy in disgrace, as was Esek Hopkins, another New Englander, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the navy. Writing about this heated debate Hewes said: "The attitude of Mr. Adams was in keeping with the always imperious and often arrogant tone of the Massachusetts people at that time".

COMPARATIVE EXERTIONS OF THE SECTIONS.

Adopting the figures in the first report of Gen. Knox, the first Secretary of war, and those on page 39 of the Compendium of the Census of 1850, which give us the estimated census of each Colony in 1775, we find that the Northern Colonies with a population of 1,491,000 whites sent to the firing line of the Revolution 220,000 soldiers, and that the Southern Colonies (including Delaware), with a population of 812,000 whites, sent 147,000 men to the front; or, stating it differently, every 1,000 citizens in the North furnished 146 soldiers, and the same number of citizens in the South furnished 181 soldiers. And, still more remarkable, a like comparison shows that South Carolina sent to the front a number of fighters equal to one third of that estimated population, and Massachusetts sent one fifth. Or, if we reject those estimates, and adopt the figures of the first census (1790), of 1,000 men fit for service South Carolina sent to the fighting line 881, and Massachusetts sent 762.

But this calculation is very unjust to the South, since, as Gen. Knox declared, "in some years of the greatest exertion of the Southern States there are no returns whatever of the militia". Indeed, the table in Frost's History of the United States, which he copied from "Collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society", and which was perhaps the same that Gen. Knox had, is totally blank in the militia column opposite the names of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. We know, however, that large bodies of the militia of these States participated in the campaigns against the British, the royalists (Scovilites, Highlanders, &c.), and the Cherokee Indians, under Richard Caswell, Griffith Rutherford, Thomas Polk, James Martin, John Ashe, Francis

Locke, William R. Davie, Isaac Shelby, Henry Dickson, Jethro Sumner, William L. Davidson, Joseph Graham, Charles McDowell, Joseph McDowell, John Sevier, Ben. Cleveland, Thomas Brown and others.

THE SOUTH'S NOBILITY AND GENEROSITY.

While the people of Boston, after the passage of the bill closing their port, were suffering for the necessities and comforts of life, cargoes of provisions were sent to them from Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, and societies for the gathering of provisions were formed in districts far from the seacoast. A ship load went from Wilmington, N. C., under the command of Parker Quince.

Referring to this noble conduct a few years before his death Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, said in a speech: "I think—and I have said it more than once at home—that among the noblest examples of lofty patriotism and lofty generosity in all human history is the example of the generous people of the South * * to Boston, Massachusetts, in the time of their sore distress".

PENSION ABUSES AND IMPOSITIONS.

Comparing Gen. Knox's figures with those in Senate Document 307, Sec. Sess. 25th Congress, we learn that from the beginning of the pension system to 1838 Northern veterans had received \$28,262,597 in pensions, a sum equal to \$128 a piece for all of them, while to the Southerners had been given only \$7,336,365, a sum equal to nearly \$50 a piece for all of them. This document shows, too, that the pension money which went to Massachusetts in 1820 was equal to more than 62 cents a piece for her entire estimated white population in 1775, while the sum that came to North Carolina was only equal to about 12 cents a piece for her estimated population in that year.

And in Garnett's "The Union Past and Present" it is demonstrated from statistics in public records that during the four years ending with 1837 the contributions of the New England States to the Federal treasury were less than the pension disbursements to their Revolutionary veterans.

Does any reader ask how a law could be passed granting

more pension money to one section than to another? No such law was ever passed; and we have no clue to the solution of the apparent discrimination except the first annual message of President John Q. Adams. When Congress discovered that the laws granting pensions "opened the door to numerous abuses and impositions", a new act was passed which "exacted proofs of absolute indigence, which many really in want were unable, and all susceptible of that delicacy which is allied to many virtues, must be deeply reluctant to give". In which section this "delicacy" existed, the evidence before us must guide us in determining.

Now add to all this the unselfish labors of Southerners during that war, as of Washington, who served through it without pecuniary reward; of Nathaniel Macon, who served three years as a private, refusing pay or promotion; of Richard Caswell, who held the office of Governor "during the stormy and perilous period of 1776, 1777 and 1778", and refused any compensation for his services; and of the daring band of heroes who assisted in defeating Ferguson's forces at King's Mountain, turning the tide of war, and making Yorktown possible, "without pay, rations or ammunition, or reward, or the hope of reward".

To all the foregoing evidence bearing on the distinguishing traits of Southerners and Northerners I append an extract from a Northern writer who had made a thorough and impartial study of the history of his own people—Richard Hildreth, of Massachusetts. In his *History of the United States*, while discussing conditions a few years after the Revolution, he says:

"One large portion of the wealthy men of Colonial times had been expatriated, and another part had been impoverished by the Revolution. In their place a new moneyed class had sprung up, especially in the Eastern States, men who had grown rich in the course of the war as sutlers, by privateering, by speculations in the fluctuating paper money, and by other operations not always of the most honorable kind."

CONCLUSION.

Thus the story of the Revolution teaches us that the man of noble qualities; the brave man; the man who fought for

his people; the man who commanded the admiration of his chief; the man who went unselfishly to the help of sufferers; the man who gave his time and risked his life without reward or the expectation of reward, for what he believed a righteous cause; the man who was above the tricks of avarice, was a Southerner.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECTIONS IN THE "MORE PERFECT UNION."

As soon as the first Congress met after the States had entered into a "more perfect Union", measures were introduced for insuring the "prosperity" of the North at the expense of the South, the purpose of New England being boldly acknowledged by Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, during the debate on the tariff act of 1789, as follows:

"The commerce of America, particularly the Southern parts, has by the force of habits and English connections been setting strong on the British coast. It requires the aid of the general government to divert it to a more natural course"—place it under the control of New England shippers. "To procure this political good, some force is necessary."—*Annals of Congress*, First Session, First Congress, p. 157.

The most important of these measures, all of which with modification became laws, were:

WAR DEBTS.

One of the most inexcusable aggressions on the Constitution and on the rights of the South was the act to fund the war debt created by the Continental Congress and to assume, without a particle of authority, twenty one millions of the war debts of the individual States. The bonds, or "certificates", had nearly all been bought up at one-eighth of their face value by speculators of the Middle and Eastern States, as the reader can learn if he will consult Marshall's *Life of Washington* or the *Journal of William Maclay*, one of Pennsylvania's first Senators; and the measure was worked into a law by threats of disrupting the Union and a disgraceful "bargain". The whole amount saddled on the people, excluding the foreign debt, was nearly \$64,000,000, seven eighths of which was an unearned increment of the wealth of the Northern States, a burden on the people equal to more than seventy dollars per family of five persons, including Indians and slaves. And Maclay gives us satisfactory evidence that large amounts of these "certificates" belonged to the members

of Congress, some of whom before their scheme was a success were sending agents with large sums of money into Southern States to buy up "certificates".

BOUNTIES TO CODFISHERMEN.

While the first Congress was engaged in the discussion of the first tariff law, the legislature of Massachusetts sent a petition asking that all foreign articles used in the fisheries be permitted to be exempt from taxes—salt, rum, tea, sugar, molasses, iron, coarse woollens, lines and hooks, sail-cloth, cordage, &c.; that the fishing vessels be exempt from the tonnage tax imposed on other vessels; and that "premiums and bounties" be paid the fishermen out of the Federal treasury.

The Congress was not ready then to comply with this prayer; but a system of legislation was entered upon which by 1860, according to Kettell, had carried \$13,000,000 of other people's money to the fishermen of New England, the share of Massachusetts being \$8,000,000. A part of this money, too, as we are informed by President Jackson in his annual message of Dec. 7, 1830, was obtained by fraud.

But this is not all; international friction has cost the people of the United States thousands, if not millions, of dollars. These fishermen have several times since the Federal government was established plied their occupation beyond the boundaries which the British government insisted had been fixed by treaty; and some times serious complications were threatened, requiring heavy expenditures for international commissions to adjust the matters in dispute.

It would, perhaps, be no extravagant variation from the truth to claim that at least half of all these expenses were paid by the people of the Southern States.

THE NORTH'S COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.

The "preferential distinctions" acquired by the New England shipping interests by a "deal" in the adjustment of sectional claims has already been referred to, and Carey has told us of some of the results of the laws enacted to grant them monopolistic privileges; and, as the laws were never seriously modified after Carey wrote, and there can be no reason to believe that there was an abatement of the avarice of the

shippers, our object does not require further search along this line. I, therefore, dismiss the subject, feeling assured that there is no necessity for dwelling on the probability that large amounts of Southern wealth were carried North annually by people who had a monopoly of the coastwise trade, and who, as carriers of Southern products to foreign markets, enjoyed a partial monopoly. Kettell declares that for a considerable period up to the time he wrote the South paid annually \$36,000,000 in freights to Northern shippers, not including those engaged in the coast trade.

PROTECTION.

Soon after it became generally understood in New England that the import taxes on the products of foreign factories ran the prices up in the United States so high that a domestic factory producing similar articles could exact an enormous tribute from the people, the capitalists began to abandon other fields of industry and devote their attention to the erection of factories; and in a few years the demands of New Englanders were supplied by their own factories, while Southerners consumed foreign articles for which they paid the foreign price, the import tax and the freight demanded by New England ships possessing monopolistic privileges. Hence the South bore a large part of the burden of supporting the government and of enriching New England ship owners.

After a while the business of manufacturing in New England and in the Middle States became so extensive that a "home market" in the South became necessary; and then the situation was something like this: The North consumed its own products, and the South consumed foreign and Northern products in about equal proportions. In other words, the North was free from taxation, and the South carried the triple burden of supporting the government, enriching the protected Northern manufacturer, and piling up wealth for favored shippers.

This picture of conditions, while not strictly correct in all its details, comes near enough to the truth to account for the outcry against this species of robbery in 1828-32, the denunciation of it by the legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina,

South Carolina and Georgia, and the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina.

Many attempts have been made to calculate with precision what the burden of the South was from the foundation of "the more perfect Union" to 1861; but we do not need to go fully into the details. It will serve our present purpose to examine "The Union Past and Present", a pamphlet written in 1851 by the late Hon. Muscoe R. H. Garnett, of Virginia, (his calculations based on statistics in Treasury reports), and learn that from 1830 to 1840 (the compromise tariff period) the South paid into the Federal treasury five times as much as the North did, and from the beginning of the system to 1846 the South paid seven ninths of all the revenues. Was there any excuse for such injustice? Listen to Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Worcester, Massachusetts, as he gives the excuse in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives March 31, 1897. Referring to the nullifiers of 1832, he said: "But prosperity did come to the North, and Mr. McDuffie, feeling that a portion of the profits of the unpaid (slave) labor of the South was shared by the North through the system of protection, was determined to deprive the North of its prosperity, that the South might reach the whole", &c.

Mr. Walker does not enlighten us as to the sources of the North's right to take from the South a portion of the products of slave labor; but, whatever was the nature of his claim, it must have been founded on an assumption that the elect are not subject to the moral law when dealing with the ungodly.

This plundering of the South to make "the North prosper" is boldly acknowledged by another Northerner, Gen. Donn Piatt. In Rice's "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln" (p. 482) he says: "The unrequited toil of the slave was more valuable to the North than to the South. With our keen business instincts, we of the free States utilized the brutal work of the masters. They made, without saying, all"—not some—"that we accumulated".

And in "Wit, Wisdom and Eloquence of Robert J. Ingersoll", which is furnished at a tempting price to booksellers on our railroad trains, he scores the South in this style:

“Where did this doctrine of a tariff for revenue come from? From the South. The South would like to stab the prosperity of the North”.

THE “BOUNTY OF THE NATION”.

Public records demonstrate that in all the years up to 1861 the lion's share of appropriations went to the North.

1. The injustice of the pension disbursements has already been set forth.

2. From 1789 to 1845 appropriations for roads, harbors and rivers in the South (including the Mississippi and the Ohio, which were common to both sections) were \$2,757,916, and for like purposes in the North \$12,743,407—six times as much.

3. From 1834 to 1845 the northern members of the “old thirteen” received for internal improvements \$6,328,080, while the Southern members received \$653,100—about one tenth as much.

4. From 1789 to 1846 the North received twice as much as the South for coast defense, excluding those at the mouth of the Mississippi, which were to defend both sections, and those about Chesapeake Bay, which were to protect the Federal capital.

5. In 1858 there were twenty-three light-houses in the North for every ten in the South.

6. Between 1850 and 1857 there were built eighteen custom houses north of Mason and Dixon's line; not one south of it. Five of these buildings cost more than \$47,000, which was eight and one-half times as much as the revenues collected at them in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1857. In other words, it required the collections of eight and one-half years to pay for the custom houses.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted it conferred upon a citizen of one of the States the right to sue another State; and soon after the Federal courts were organized Chisholm entered suit against Georgia and—(his name has been left out of all the records I have examined) entered one against Massachusetts. Georgia answered the complaint,

and defended herself before the Supreme Court. John Hancock, Governor of Massachusetts, refused to answer the summons of the Court, claiming that a sovereign can not be sued without his consent. The Court yielded; and the 11th amendment was placed in the Constitution to prevent farther conflicts of authority.—See Lives of Signers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF 1812.

As the claims of the shipping interests of Massachusetts led to the Revolutionary War, so did the commercial interests of that State and of some of her neighbors lead to the war of 1812.

To understand thoroughly the part played by each section in inaugurating this war and the motives which controlled them during its progress, we must familiarize ourselves with the industries of the two sections and those "interests" which Mr. Madison said "were opposed to each other".

In the South agriculture was the chief employment of the people, and it was the surplus of their products which went abroad in New England ships to pay for the return cargoes, the ship-owners thereby, as Carey said, "making princely fortunes" at the expense of the South. In 1828 Mr. Benton in the Senate declared that up to that time the South had exported, in four staples alone, produce valued at \$800,000,000, while "the North had exported comparatively nothing".

In the New England States there was a diversity of industries, as farming, manufacturing, fishing, ship-building and the slave-trade. The inhabitants of Boston and the other seaport towns followed all these occupations except farming, and hence the ocean was their field of labor. Any regulations, therefore, which imposed restrictions on the commerce of the United States, if we except the slave-trade and the allied industries, imposed as heavy burdens on the South as on the North.

SOME OF THE INTERESTING EVENTS PRECEDING THE WAR.

1. The first acts of aggression which threatened an open rupture between this country and Great Britain were committed in 1793 while the British were at war with Napoleon. The commanders of their armed cruisers were ordered, as President Washington informed the Congress, "to restrain generally our commerce in corn and other provisions to their own ports and those of their friends"; and these commanders, furthermore, were ordered to search any United States vessels

they met with, and take from them any Englishmen who might be found on board, their government denying the right of a British subject to migrate to the United States and become a naturalized citizen.

2. In January, 1794, the House of Representatives, after a long and acrimonious debate, passed a retaliatory act cutting off all intercourse with Great Britain, its chief supporters being Southerners under the leadership of Mr. Madison; but it was defeated in the Senate by the casting vote of Vice-President Adams, who was a citizen of the State whose "vessels and commerce" were the principal sufferers from "the vexations and spoliations" committed by British cruisers.

The enactment of such a measure at that time, when only twelve more years remained for the legal continuance of the slave-trade, would have been disastrous to that lucrative traffic in which, according to M. Larochevoucauld, about twenty of their ships were engaged, the severest blow, perhaps, coming from the stoppage of imports of molasses from Jamaica, a British possession.

3. In violation of the terms of the treaty of peace of 1783 the British were still (1794) occupying the western forts on Lake Erie and its vicinity; and, as this added to the friction between the two countries, President Washington sent John Jay in the summer of 1794 to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain. While securing some rights to New England's ships, this treaty permitted the British to impress seamen, as before, to search these ships for contraband articles, and to be the sole judge of what was contraband. But it was ratified by the Senate, it being considered safer to yield to Britain's haughty demands than to risk a war. Its ratification, however, was denounced by the opponents of the administration as a discreditable surrender to British arrogance; and the final question in the House, in favor of a law to carry it into effect, was carried by only three majority.

4. In 1803-4 the ambitious leaders of New England, who were always ready to "cabal against and endeavor to overthrow any government they had not the management of", began a secession movement because there was danger that the "expansion" of Southern interests in the Louisiana Territory might endanger the power of "the North" to "prosper" at the

expense of "the South"; and this movement tended to unite all classes in New England against Mr. Jefferson and the South.

5. In December, 1805, Mr. Jefferson's message complained that "our coasts have been infested and our harbors watched by private armed vessels" and by "public armed ships".

6. In January, 1806, Mr. Jefferson sent a special message to the Congress, calling attention to "oppressions of our commerce and navigation by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles, derogatory to the rights of neutrals and unacknowledged by the usage of nations"; and also to the continued practice of searching American vessels, impressing our seamen, and seizing whatever was judged to be contraband.

Thereupon an act was passed on the 15th of April, to be effective on the 15th of November, prohibiting the importation of certain articles of British growth or manufacture, the democrats favoring and the federalists opposing it.

7. In June, 1807, the British ship *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake*, riddling the hull, rigging and spars, and killing three men. "This insolent attack", says Taylor's History of the United States, "upon a national ship—this wanton exercise of a claim derogatory to national honor—aroused the spirit of the republic. The distinctions of party were forgotten", &c.

8. In December, 1807, by a vote of 82 to 44 in the House and 22 to 6 in the Senate, the embargo act was passed, forbidding all commerce between the United States and foreign countries, the object being to retaliate for the Berlin decree of Napoleon and the British order in council. This act did not affect the coastwise monopoly, except in an indirect manner; but it ordered a sudden stop to the slave-trade and the contributory industries.

9. In 1808 New England was much excited; petitions were sent from all sections praying for the repeal of the embargo; the law was evaded to a shameful extent; and the foreign commerce of New England was clandestinely carried on through Canada.

10. In the winter of 1808-9 an act was passed arming the President with additional powers for enforcing the embargo; but the Congress was frightened into a repeal of it in a few weeks (March 15) by confidential letters from John Q. Adams, then a private citizen, informing the administration party that "the party prevailing in" Massachusetts was instigating the people to forcible resistance to the embargo, that "juries after juries acquitted the violators of it upon the ground that it was unconstitutional", that "a separation of the Union was openly stimulated in the public prints", and that "a convention of delegates of the New England States, to meet at New Haven, was intended and proposed".

11. Early in 1809, while the "prevailing party in" Massachusetts was organizing a resistance to the Federal government, John Henry was sent into the New England States as a secret agent of the British government, to intrigue "with the disaffected" and to bring about "a political connexion" between those States and Great Britain.

12. On May 16, 1811, after repeated and fruitless efforts to effect by negotiation a peaceable settlement of conflicting claims, Commodore Rodgers, commanding the frigate *President*, was fired upon by the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*; but she was soon silenced by the guns of the *President*. This was at a time when New England's merchantmen were boarded, searched, "and many of them", says Taylor, "sent to British ports as legal prizes".

13. On May 20, 1812, the *Hornet* arrived from London, bringing a dispatch from Jonathan Russell (a New Englander), United States charge-d'affaires at London, in which he said: "I no longer entertain a hope that we can honorably avoid war".

14. On June 18, 1812, President Madison approved the act of Congress declaring war against Great Britain. It had been adopted in the House by a vote of 79 to 49 and in the Senate by a vote of 19 to 13. Of the representatives who supported the measure only 17 lived north of the Delaware, and of the Senators who voted for it only 5 lived north of that river. "Thus the war", says the *Statesman's Manual*, "may be said to have been a measure of the South and West to take

care of the interests of the North, much against the will of the latter”.

NEW ENGLAND'S CONDUCT DURING THE WAR.

Having gone over the evidence which supports the contention that in the war of 1812, as in the Revolution, the South had not “the slightest particle of personal interest”, and that in both she was moved by those sentiments which have distinguished the men whom History has honored as the noblest, purest and most unselfish of the race, let us sum up briefly the testimony which must guide us in deciding whether the “exceedingly avaricious” who in 1775 disgusted Gen. Washington had acquired a “sentiment of honor”, and whether New England had reached those exalted civic virtues which would entitle her to the censorship of the Union.

1. The first notable act of Massachusetts was the refusal of Governor Caleb Strong to comply with President Madison's call for the militia of the States, which is commented on in the following extracts from President Monroe's message of Feb. 24, 1824:

“I herewith transmit to Congress certain documents relating to a claim of Massachusetts for services rendered by the military of that State in the late war, and for which the payment was made by the State. * * * In forming a just estimate of this claim, it will be necessary to recur to the cause which prevented its admission * * * at an earlier day. It will be recollected that when a call was made on the militia of that State for service, in the late war, under an arrangement which was alike applicable to the militia of all the States, and in conformity with the acts of Congress, the executive of Massachusetts refused to comply with the call.

* * * * *

“In the correspondence with the Governor of Massachusetts at that important epoch, and on that very interesting subject it was announced to him by the Secretary of War that, if the militia of the State were called into service by the executive of the State, and not put under the command of the Major-General of the United States, as the militia of the other States were, the expense attending their service

would be chargeable to the State, and not to the United States. * * * *

“Under these circumstances a decision on the claim of the State of Massachusetts has hitherto been suspended, and it need not be remarked that the suspension has proceeded from a conviction that it would be improper to give any sanction by its admission, or the admission of any part thereof, either to the construction of the Constitution contended for by the then executive of that State, or to its conduct at that period toward the general government of the Union”.

The total amount of this claim was nearly \$900,000, and after having for a number of years pleaded in vain for its allowance, the representatives of the State succeeded in the winter of 1829-30, by methods of which we have no records, in having an act passed to allow their State \$430,000—a very liberal reward for the nullification of a Federal law and of the Constitution of the Union, which Gov. Strong had sworn to support.

2. In the winter of 1813-14, the Federal authorities having learned that “small vessels and boats” were supplying with provisions the British squadrons on the coast of New England, passed an act to check this giving “aid and comfort” to the enemies of the United States; but the threatening attitude of the “downeasters” forced the Congress to repeal the act four days before it adjourned, and permit the treason to flourish.

3. As New England, by throwing every imaginable obstacle in the way of the administration, had demonstrated her willingness to submit to the arrogance and insolence of Britain’s armed cruisers, and was arranging to hold the Hartford Convention, Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State, giving instructions to the Commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace, said: “On mature consideration, it has been decided that, under all the circumstances above alluded to, incident to a prosecution of the war, you may omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment, if found indispensably necessary to terminate it”. And this was done, British armed vessels retaining the right to “hold up” any New England skipper and impress his sailors.

This decision of the administration was no doubt hastened

by "mature consideration" of conditions such as were made public by the following from the Boston Gazette (Apr. 14, 1814, quoted by Carey):

"By the magnanimous course pointed out by Gov. Strong, i. e., by withholding all voluntary aid in prosecuting the war and manfully expressing our opinions as to its injustice and ruinous tendency, we have arrested its progress, and driven its authors to abandon their nefarious schemes and to look anxiously for peace".

4. While the "party prevailing" in Massachusetts was traitorously opposing and defying the Federal authorities, a combination was entered into by the men who had been made wealthy by the Revolutionary-War-debt deal, "as sutlers, by privateering, by speculations in the fluctuating paper money, and by other operations not always of the most honorable kind", and those who had been "making princely fortunes by the carriage and exportation of the bulky and valuable products" of the Southern States, which Federal law had converted into "so many wealthy colonies" for their enterprising business men. Having under their control nearly all the specie in the Union, the banks in all other sections having suspended specie payments early in the war, they closed the doors of their banks to the Secretary of the Treasury when the exigences of war compelled the Federal authorities to borrow money; and the result was that the military operations were seriously crippled, while the Secretary was obliged to accept depreciated bank bills for bonds he placed on the market, the price he received being only 88 per cent. of their face value.

A few New Englanders, such as ex-President John Adams, promoted the loans; and this disobedience of the commands of the "party prevailing" was met by such complaints as the following in John Lowell's "Road to Ruin": "Money is such a drug (the surest sign of former prosperity and of present insecurity of trade) that men, against their consciences, their honor, their duty, their professions and promises, are willing to lend it secretly, to support the very measures which are both intended and calculated for their ruin". And "the pulpit,

as usual in Boston", says Carey, "came in aid of the press to secure success".

Such lawlessness on the part of the people's leaders, such contempt for moral obligation, bore its inevitable fruit, as John Lowell informs us in number 6 of his "Road to Ruin", wherein he complains of the degradation of the people. He says:

"They engage in lawless speculations, sneer at restraints of conscience, laugh at perjury, mock at legal restraints, and acquire an ill-gotten wealth at the expense of public morals and of the more sober, conscientious part of the community".

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRADUCERS OF THE SOUTH.

The misrepresentations of the moral, social, political and industrial conditions in the Southern States which at an early period began to be accepted in the North as historic verities were so execrable that some day the student of History will wonder how a people claiming to be the most enlightened in the western hemisphere could impose on themselves so easily. Go to the Congressional Globe, and read the debate between Senators Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Arthur P. Butler, of South Carolina, the speeches of William Slade, of Vermont, of William H. Seward, of New York, &c.; go to Greeley's "American Conflict", and read his summary of the charges and insinuations about the South's conduct in the adjustment of the compromises in the Federal Constitution, about the South's unfairness and "arrogance" in the administration of the general government, and about the character of the men and the women of the South; and you will find much that even to-day brings a blush of shame to the intelligent Northerner who has visited the South and studied dispassionately the temper and disposition of the people.

A few of the misrepresentations will serve my present purpose:

1. It was charged that the South refused to agree to enter the "more perfect Union" unless the North would consent to permit the African slave trade to continue till 1808. But the truth is that when a committee reported that the Congress should not stop the slave trade till 1800, a motion to substitute 1808 was seconded by Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, and was approved by every Eastern State in the convention, thus conferring on the slave traders of those States an inestimable extension of their privileges.—See Elliott's Debates, vol. I, p. 264.

And yet in "Wit, Wisdom and Eloquence of Robert J. Ingersoll", which is sold on railroad trains all over the South, he gives this as one of his reasons for denouncing "the doc-

trine of State sovereignty": "The first time it appeared was when they"—Southerners—"wished to keep the slave trade alive till 1808. The first resort to this doctrine was for the protection of piracy and murder".

2. When Mr. Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory, to insure the Western and the Southwestern States against possible aggressions from unfriendly neighbors and their commerce from harassing restrictions at New Orleans, the fiction of the slave-power" entered into our political literature, and the object of the purchase was represented then and ever since to "expand slavery". But, as is known to every intelligent student of our history, Mr. Jefferson was opposed to slavery, as was about every Southern statesman in 1803. The ordinance forbidding slavery in the Northwest Territory was supported by every Southerner in the Congress, and during the time between the close of the Revolution and the establishment of the "more perfect Union" every Southern State either totally forbade the importation of slaves or imposed restrictions on the traffic.—See Dubois's *Suppression of the Slave-trade*, p. 226.

3. The Southerner was denounced to the civilized world as a cruel master who "shackled" his slaves, and whose right hand, as Lowell pictured him in his *Bigelow Papers*, clutched "the clotted slave-whip"; but the adoption of Legree, a "downeaster", as the most revolting brute in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was a recognition of the fact known all over the South that the most unfeeling slave-owner was the Northerner who came South and married the daughter of a man whose hand clutched a "clotted slave whip". Indeed, Mrs. Stowe lectures the mothers of the North for their neglect to give proper instruction to their sons. She says: "If the mothers of the free States had all felt as they should, in times past, the sons of the free States would not have been the holders, and proverbially, the hardest masters of slaves".

4. It was a source of pleasure to the South's traducers when they made the discovery, as they claimed, that by some sort of threats the South coerced the North to agree to include three fifths of the slaves in the representative population of a State. But the facts were as follows, and they put "the boot on the other leg":

When the Congress of the Confederation, in 1783, was considering an amendment to the Articles which proposed to substitute the population of a State for its landed estates as a basis of taxation, the members from Massachusetts insisted on including all the slaves in the population, while Southern delegates maintained that a slave was not equal to a white man as a wealth producer, and that hence only a part of the slaves should be added to the whites in fixing a basis of taxation. Mr. Carroll, of Maryland, thought it would be fair to include one fourth of the slaves; Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, "for the sake of the object", would consent to include half of them; Mr. Lee, of Virginia, thought half of them too much; and Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, thought "slaves an encumbrance to society, instead of increasing its ability to pay taxes".

While the subject was being discussed and there seemed little hope that the "sections" would come to an agreement, Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, informed the Congress, "as a cogent reason for hastening that business", that his State was preparing to violate the 6th of the Articles of Confederation by inviting her neighboring States and New York to unite with her in some sort of a Confederacy—to secede and form a Northern Confederacy—; and this threat impelled the Southerners to consent to include three-fifths of the slaves.

But when in the Convention of 1787 the South demanded that representatives should be apportioned among the States according to their ability to pay taxes—that a State's Federal population should be all its free citizens and three fifths of its slaves—New England objected. That is to say, that section thought it just to include all, or nearly all, of the slaves in apportioning taxes, but none of them in apportioning representatives.

5. It seemed to afford pleasure to the poets and orators of the North to warm the prejudices of the people by sneering at the licentiousness of Southerners, and the number of mulattoes in the South was harped on as proof of degrading sensuality. Longfellow's "The Quadroon Girl" is one of their gems. But these critics must have examined public

records "with a great deal of caution". The census of 1850 reported the number of blacks and mulattoes as follows:

States.	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Per Cent.
New England, N. Y., Penn., O., Ind., Ill.....	116,400	51,283	44
Maryland	143,588	21,503	15
North Carolina	281,991	34,020	12
South Carolina	377,070	16,874	4

On February 13, 1860, the following statement appeared in the New York Tribune (written perhaps by James Redpath, the English philanthropist, who in those days wrote for that paper):

"We were apprised by the official returns of 1850, that the lands of the South were held by a small number of proprietors, and the residue of white citizens were without property, and therefore were in serfdom, or, I might say, more than that, for the serfs in European countries are at least the cultivators of the soil, and have certain inherent privileges attached thereto; * * * but the white population of the South, other than the great land proprietors, have no interest in the soil, nor does it appear what proprietary interest they have in any sort of property".

But the census of 1850 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, pp. 95 and 169) showed that in the following typical Southern States the number of farms owned by slave-holders and the number owned by non-slave-holders were as in this table:

State.	Slave-holders.	Non-slave-holders.
Virginia	55,063	21,950
North Carolina	28,303	28,660
South Carolina	25,596	4,371
Georgia	38,456	13,303
Alabama	29,295	12,669
Mississippi	23,116	10,844

And this same census showed that North Carolina—taking that State for an example—contained 273,000 white people, and if we suppose there were, on an average, five persons to

each family, she had 54,600 families and 56,963 landholders.

This falsehood, sent forth in the early months of that election year, could be echoed, and no doubt was intended to be echoed, and re-echoed by ignorant or dishonest orators all over the North, and arouse a storm of opposition to any candidate the South might support; for the managers of the Tribune were well aware that the "proud" and "arrogant" South could never get a hearing in the North.

This slander is doing duty still up North, warming the prejudices of the people against Southerners. In Rice's "Reminiscences", &c., George W. Julian appears as a contributor, exhibiting his ignorance and his spite. Mr. Julian was an Indiana statesman, served twelve years in Congress, legislating for people of whom he was ignorant; was a member of the ever-memorable committee which framed and forced through the "Reconstruction Measures"; and advocated all the measures which were intended to degrade the people of the South. Discussing one of these measures which was designed to rob every Southerner of everything he possessed, he says: "The nation was struggling for its life against a rebellious aristocracy founded on the monopoly of land and the ownership of negroes".

During all the years of sectional wrangles up to 1861, while every industry of the North was levying direct or indirect tribute on the South, it was never charged by the latter's most unscrupulous revilers that any industry in the South had ever asked for or secured any favorable sectional legislation. But, in the face of this truth, a so-called History, written by a distinguished professor in a Northern seat of learning, asks the world to reflect with wondering and grateful admiration on the patience and long-suffering with which the North endured the aggressions of the South. And away back, nearly sixty years ago, James Russell Lowell, one of the brightest of New England literary lights, "set to a nussry rime" a "debate in the Sinnit", in which this stanza occurs:

"Now don't go to say I'm the friend of oppression,
But keep all your spare breath fer coolin' yer broth,
Fer I ollers hev strove (at least thet's my impression)
To make cussed free with the rights o' the North",

Sez John C. Calhoun, sez he;
 "Yes", sez Davis o' Miss.,
 "The perfection o' bliss
 Is in skinnin' that same old coon", sez he.

Ten years before Lowell commenced misrepresenting the character and purposes of Southerners John Greenleaf Whittier, who is honored to-day as one of New England's sweetest singers, was engaged in the same work; but so glaring were his libels—some of which are commented on in another place in this chapter—that when "the Hutchinsons" came down in 1862 to entertain Gen. McClellan's army by singing Whittier's songs, they were driven out of the camp.

A furious storm was raised up all over the North because, as was alleged, the South had "trampled on a time honored compact" when the so-called Missouri Compromise was repealed. But the records show that the North never agreed to any such compact. The act of March 6, 1820, authorized the people of Missouri to form a Constitution, and declared that the "said State, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatsoever". This was the first section. The fifth section declared that slavery should not exist north of a certain line; and all Northern writers who exercised a controlling power in framing public sentiment taught the people that Missouri was admitted on the condition that slavery should be excluded north of that line. But in truth when Missouri was ready for admission, and was knocking at the doors of the Congress at the next session, the restrictionists "trampled on the sacred compact", and voted almost solidly against her admission, the vote being in the House 87 to 81. This was August 21, 1821.

Among the cheap and attractive works advertised by the Boston Educational Publishing Company, and sold to schools all over the Union, is a series of "American History Stories", in one of which great sorrow is expressed because in Virginia the slaves "did all the work for their masters"—the children of the masters growing up, of course, in idleness—"and received no pay for it"; and then, going back to the early days, it says the Georgians introduced slavery into their colony be-

cause they "were not a God-fearing people as were the Puritans and Quakers".

It was dinned into the ears of Northerners and foreigners that the slaveholder was guilty of "barbarism", that his relation to his slave rendered him "arrogant" and illiberal, and unfitted him for the cultivation of the Christian virtues which distinguished his critics; and that the slaves were being gradually forced down to a level with the brutes. But every well-informed student of conditions in the South readily recognized the faithfulness with which Mrs. Stowe drew her pictures of "Uncle Tom" and of "Eva". The integrity, the piety, the fidelity of Uncle Tom would surprise us if found in many of those who deem themselves worthy of being guardians for other people. And Eva, descended through many generations from ancestors who had been "clutching" "the clotted slave-whip", was a superb model of the gentle, kind, humane and refined woman.

In 1861 there was scattered all over the Northern States, Canada and Europe a forged address which its authors declared to have been delivered to the Georgia Secession Convention by Alexander H. Stephens, in which slavery was asserted to be "the corner stone of the Confederacy", and secession was "the height of folly, madness and wickedness". This forgery found its way into "The Civil War in America" (Lossing), and into Botts's "The Great Rebellion"; and to-day it can be found doing duty in so-called "Histories".—See *War Between the States*, vol. 1, p. 23.

In December, 1905, there appeared an article in the "Independent", New York, written by Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Massachusetts, whom a consuming remorse for the sins of the South drove in 1855 (according to Eli Thayer's "Kansas Crusade") to favor a "dissolution of these States", but who was in South Carolina in 1862 at the head of a negro regiment butchering and plundering people for favoring the same thing, in which this passage occurs:

"In 1833 Whittier had printed an anti-slavery pamphlet. In doing this he * * * risked personal danger. At that very time Dr. Reuben Crandall, of Washington, who was arrested for the crime of merely lending Whittier's pamphlet to a brother physician, had been confined in the old city prison

until his health was destroyed, and he was liberated only to die. The fact is mentioned in 'Astræa at the Capital,' where Whittier says:

Beside me gloomed the prison cell
 Where wasted one in slow decline
 For uttering simple words of mine,
 And loving freedom all too well".

Knowing that Col. Henderson (of the British army) in his "Life of Stonewall Jackson" denounces Whittier's "Barbara Freitchie" story as a "calumny"; that Mrs. Lugenbeel, who according to the Washington Post, lived in Barbara Freitchie's house during the war, "can remember nothing of the flag-waving episode"; and that it is very unlikely that the Congress, which alone legislates for the District of Columbia, ever enacted a law to punish a man for loaning a book, I applied for information on the subject, and received the following from the "Custodian of the Law Library", Washington, D. C.:

"U. S. vs. Reuben Crandall, 4 Cranch, Circuit Court Reports, 683, March term, 1836, contains a decision on an indictment for publishing libels tending to excite sedition among the servants and free colored persons in the District of Columbia. Mr. Key, the U. S. District Attorney, was the prosecutor. The defendant was adjudged not guilty on the ground that publication of pamphlets in New York is not evidence of their publication in Washington.

"No statute can be found upon the subject, and the action was undoubtedly brought under the common law".

This "libel" was published two years after Whittier's body of reformers had excited an uprising of "Nat Turner's" band, which murdered 52 men, women and children in Southampton county, Virginia. And it is probable that the people of the District of Columbia believed that Whittier would have rejoiced to hear that a "Nat Turner" had commenced operations there.

And a pupil of these poets and orators has lately made his appearance as the author of a five volume "History of the United States", published for "The Review of Reviews Com-

pany by the Macmillan Company". His name is Henry William Elson; and here is one evidence that he sat at Whittier's feet: "The most revolting feature of slavery in America, one that the historian blushes to record (but history must deal with facts), was that too often the attractive slave woman was a prostitute to her master. This evil was wide-spread at the South". And this veracious historian asserts that "on the great plantations" the food of the slaves "was almost exclusively corn meal, which they prepared in addition to the day's toil, often exceeding fifteen hours, in the field". But this is not all. He has hunted up the exceptional cases of cruelty which used to ornament the libels of Whittier, Garrison, *et id omne genus*, and asks his readers to believe them to be typical of conditions in the South; but he is careful to omit the fact that "the brutal Legree", who he says "enraged" boys who were voters in 1860, was a "downeast Yankee".

The reformers of New England and their disciples in other sections who were responsible for Nat Turner's butcheries in Virginia did not pretend to claim that the Federal government had any right to interfere with slavery in the States. In 1831, when Garrison established his *Liberator*, he flaunted at its masthead his hatred of the Constitution by denouncing it as "A Covenant with Death, and An Agreement with Hell"; in 1839 Wendell Phillips abandoned the practice of law because, as Alden tells us, "he would not act under an attorney's oath to support the Constitution of the United States with its guaranties of slavery"; and, on the 25th of February, 1861, Senator Charles Sumner, the recognized leader of the abolitionists, said in a speech: "I take this occasion to declare most explicitly that I do not think that Congress has any right to interfere with slavery in a State". But, notwithstanding all this, these reformers, led by Garrison, Whittier, Phillips and other agitators, began at an early day to flood Congress with petitions to do what they knew Congress could not do, their object evidently being to irritate Southern members. At first these petitions were referred to committees; but, after some years, the folly of treating respectfully such silly demands being apparent, a resolution was adopted in the House to lay them on the table. There-

upon a howl was raised by these reformers wherever they could gain the attention of the ignorant masses, "gentlemen of property and respectability" having no patience with them. They denounced the "arrogant slave-driver" for denying to them "the sacred right of petition" which was guaranteed to them in the Constitution; and ex-President John Q. Adams spent nearly ten years in Congress laboring to have this "gag rule" repealed, so that Congress would be compelled to frame some sort of an act if petitions were presented demanding the expulsion of the moon from our sky.

And this old denunciation of "radical Southerners" is echoed to-day in respectable so-called "Histories of the United States".

An appropriate postscript to this account of Southern disregard of "great moral ideas" is a letter written to Secretary Stanton Dec. 30, 1864, by Brigadier General R. Saxton, Beaufort, S. C. In it he told Stanton about the way in which negroes were treated by those who were "saving the life of the nation". I quote:

"Comparatively few of the negroes are fit for soldiers; but Gen. Foster ordered an indiscriminate conscription of every able-bodied colored man in the department, which was an 'apparent violation of faith pledged to the freedmen'.

"The order spread universal confusion and terror. The negroes fled to the woods and swamps, visiting their cabins only by stealth and in darkness. * * *

"Three boys, only fourteen years of age, were seized in a field where they were at work and sent to a regiment serving in a distant part of the department without the knowledge or consent of their parents.

"A man on his way to enlist as a volunteer was stopped by a recruiting party. He told them where he was going and was passing on when he was again ordered to halt. He did not stop and was shot dead, and was left where he fell. It is supposed the soldiers desired to bring him in and get the bounty offered for bringing in recruits.

"Another man who had a wife and family was shot as he was entering a boat to fish, on the pretense that he was a deserter. He fell in the water and was left. * * * Another employee in the Quartermaster's Department * * *

was taken to Hilton Head and enrolled, although he had a certificate of exemption from the military service from a medical officer.

"I found the prejudice of color and race here in full force and the general feeling of the army of occupation was unfriendly to the blacks. It was manifested in various forms of personal insult and abuse, in depredations on their plantations"—plantations, he means, which had been taken from their owners and rented to the negroes—"stealing and destroying their crops and domestic animals, and robbing them of their money".

"The women were held as the legitimate prey of lust. * * *

"There was a general disposition among soldiers and civilian speculators here to defraud the negroes in their private traffic, to take the commodities which they offered for sale by force, or to pay for them in worthless money".

Thus for more than a century have the "God-fearing Puritans" been at work misunderstanding, misrepresenting, slandering and insulting the people of the South; and one of the most puzzling problems the future student of History will encounter will be to explain how a people who claimed to be the most enlightened and the most pious on the American continent could deal so unjustly with communities which owed them nothing, had never injured them, and were at work all the time insuring their "prosperity".

But a few rays of light are beginning to penetrate even the dark corners of that section of the country; and it is a most promising augury of repentance, of sackcloth and ashes, when such men as Charles Francis Adams give utterance to the views copied below from a recent article of his. Mr. Adams' grandfather, John Quincy Adams, did much in the 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th Congresses to inflame the passions of Southerners against him and his abolition co-workers; and his father, Charles Francis Adams, the "free-soil" candidate for Vice-President in 1848, became one of the ablest of the founders of the party which devastated the South.

Anxious to inform himself on what has for generations been one of the most interesting questions which the people of New England have felt it their duty to answer, Mr. Adams spent some time in Africa, studying the negro in his

native home; and here is one of his statements: "In the first place, looking about me among Africans in Africa—far removed from the American environment to which I have been accustomed—the scales fell from my eyes. I found myself most impressed by a realizing sense of the appalling amount of error and cant in which we of the United States have indulged on this topic"—New England, as usual, being the "United States"—"we have actually wallowed in a bog of self-sufficient ignorance—especially we philanthropists and theorists of New England. We do so still. Having eyes, we will not see. Even now we not unfrequently hear the successor to the abolitionist and humanitarian of the ante-civil war period—the 'Uncle Tom' period—announce that the difference between the white man and the black man is much less considerable than is ordinarily supposed, and the only real obstacle of the negro's way is that he never had a chance. For myself, after visiting the black man in his own house, I came back with a decided impression that this is the sheerest of delusions, due to pure ignorance of rudimentary facts; yet we built upon it in 'reconstruction' days as upon a foundation stone—a self-evident truth. Let those who indulge in such theories go to the Sudan and pass a week at Omdurman. That place marks in commerce, in letters and in art, in science and agriculture, the highest point of development yet reached by an African race. As already suggested, the difference between Omdurman and London about measures the difference between the black and the white. Indisputably great, that it admits of measurement is questionable."

All of which is very gratifying; but Mr. Adams misrepresents the reasons for "reconstruction". The evidence is overwhelming that the object of Thaddeus Stevens and his co-usurpers was solely to degrade and punish the then-existing and all future generations of Southerners. The 14th amendment could have had no other object in view.

CHAPTER IX.

STATES SECEDE.

The Southern people, as shown elsewhere, had for seventy years been compelled by bargains, deals and other dishonorable methods to labor for "the prosperity" of the North; and "received no pay for it".

The public lands, for the purchase of which the South had contributed more than a just proportion, had been divided up into States a majority of which could be relied on to vote with the North and render the South's vassalage irremediably permanent.

A wave of fanaticism sweeping over the North between 1850 and 1860, Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa nullified that provision of the Constitution which had been transferred to it from Nathan Dane's Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory; and Ohio and Iowa refused to comply with the mutual covenant in the Constitution which required them to surrender a fugitive from justice when demands were made by the Governor of Virginia—all of these violations of the Constitutional Compact between the States being committed by legislators and Governors who were bound by a solemn oath to support that instrument.

This wave had swept into the ranks of the blind fanatics many of the substantial business men of the North, as the conduct of their States demonstrated, and as was declared by Kettell (1860) in this sentence: "That political party which threatens with fire and sword every Southern hearth, with violent death every Southern man, and with dishonor every Southern female, and a saturnalia of blood, receives countenance from merchants whose trade depends upon the good will of their threatened neighbors".

And it was this combination which removed from the breasts of many Southerners the last spark of hope that they could ever share in the "justice", "the domestic tranquillity", and "the blessings of liberty" to secure which their forefathers had carried their States into the Union.

Writing to a committee of New York lawyers in 1851, Mr. Webster said: "In the North, the purpose of overturning the government shows itself more clearly in resolutions agreed to in voluntary assemblies of individuals, denouncing the laws of the land, and declaring a fixed intent to disobey them".

It is true that optimism prevailed in many sections of the South, a strong Union sentiment overcoming the fears which had been awakened by the disregard of official oaths in so many Northern States; but in South Carolina, where still smoldered the fires of resentment which had been kindled in the "nullification" era, the disunion spirit overcame all opposition; and in a few months, either willingly, or driven by Mr. Lincoln to choose sides, ten other States followed South Carolina.

The right of a State to withdraw from the Union, which had never been denied by any respectable authority, and which Massachusetts had repeatedly claimed since the establishment of the Union—the last time in 1844—was contemptuously denied by President Lincoln in 1861, who proclaimed and insisted that these eleven States were still members of the Federal Union, and that their citizens had entered into "a treasonable combination" against the government. But, if we were to grant the claims of the most uncompromising centralizationists, we could still challenge them to point out among the laws of God, or of civilized nations, the statute which dooms the Southern people to everlasting submission to masters to whose ancestors Washington, Jefferson, Davie, Williamson, Rutledge, Pinkney and other Revolutionary fathers sold themselves. If such a statute can be found, our mouths will be closed; we will admit that Abraham Lincoln knew more about the terms on which the thirteen States entered into a Union than Madison, Mason, Jefferson, Macon, Davie, Pickering, Hancock, Rawle or Tucker; and we will endeavor to submit cheerfully to the dictation of our masters and to the exactions of their avarice and spite.

THE RIGHT TO SECEDE.

As to the right of a State to withdraw from the Federal Union, there is no necessity for encumbering these pages with authorities; a few will serve our purpose:

1. The famous "Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798", which declared that each State in the Union possessed the right to judge for itself as to "the mode and measure of redress" whenever it became a sufferer from "infractions" of the Constitution, were incorporated in the platforms on which Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan were elected to the Presidency.

2. William Rawle, who became U. S. District Attorney for Pennsylvania in 1791, declined the office of U. S. District Judge in 1792, and was Chancellor of the Law Association of Philadelphia from 1822 till his death in 1836, wrote an elaborate work on the Constitution, which was published in 1825; and in this work, which was the text-book on Constitutional Law at West Point while Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee were students there, he said this:

"The Union is an association of the people of Republics; its preservation is calculated to depend on the preservation of those Republics. * * * It depends on the State itself, to retain or abolish the principle of representation; because it depends on itself, whether it will continue a member of the Union. * * *

"This right must be considered as an ingredient in the original composition of the General Government, which, though not expressed, was mutually understood".

In 1851 Daniel Webster, "the Great Expounder", delivered a speech at Capon Springs, Virginia, which is carefully excluded from the attractive readers which Northern publishing houses are offering at tempting prices to the schools of the South, in which, severely condemning the Northern fanatics who were trampling on the rights of the South, he said:

"How absurd it is to suppose that, when different parties enter into a compact for certain purposes, either can disregard any one provision and expect, nevertheless, the other to observe the rest. * * * A bargain cannot be broken on one side, and still bind the other side".

SOME NORTHERN VIEWS AS TO COERSION.

During the exciting times of the Presidential election of 1860 and of the gathering storm of secession, before the suppression of the freedom of speech and of the press in the

Northern States, there were in many newspapers in that section expressions of sympathy with the Southern States and denials of the right to invade and subjugate a seceded State. The list of papers, as reported in Greeley's "American Conflict", included the Albany Argus, the Rochester Union, the New York Herald, the New York Express, the Utica Observer, the Bangor Union, the Journal of Commerce, the Boston Post and the New York Tribune. Of these the utterances of two or three will serve my purpose:

1. The Rochester Union said: "Restricting our remarks to actual violations of the Constitution, the North have led the way, and for a long period have been the sole offenders, or aggressors. * * * Owing to their different circumstances, Northern States have been enabled to secure their cherished object by violating the Constitution in a way that does not necessitate secession. * * * Owing to their peculiar circumstances, the Southern States cannot retaliate upon the North without taking ground for secession".

2. The New York Express said: "They fight upon their own soil, in behalf of their dearest rights—for their public institutions, their homes, and their property. * * * The South, in self-preservation, has been driven to the wall, and forced to proclaim its independence. * * * The administration, egged on by the halloo of the Black Republican journals of this city, has sent its mercenary forces to pick a quarrel and initiate the work of desolation and ruin".

3 The Bangor (Maine) Union said: "Democrats of Maine, the loyal sons of the South have gathered around Charleston, as your fathers of old gathered about Boston, in defense of the same sacred principles of liberty—principles which you have ever upheld and defended with your vote, your voice, and your strong right arm. Your sympathies are with the defenders of the truth and the right. Those who have inaugurated this unholy and unjustifiable war are no friends of yours—no friends of Democratic Liberty. Will you aid them in their work of subjugation and tyranny? * * * Say to them fearlessly and boldly, in the language of England's great Lord, the Earl of Chatham, * * * 'If I were a Southerner, as I am a Northerner, while a for-

eign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms—*never*, NEVER, NEVER' ”.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S EXCUSE FOR INVADING THE CONFEDERACY.

South Carolina seceded 74 days before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln and she was followed, before that event, by Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas; and 24 days before his inauguration the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy was adopted. President Buchanan had said before he retired that the Congress “possessed no means of preserving the Union by force”, but Mr. Lincoln was not handicapped by the Congress, which would not assemble till the next December, unless he summoned it. This he refused to do; and, by freeing himself from any interference of the courts, by suspending the writ of habeas corpus, he usurped all the powers of the three co-ordinate departments of the Federal Government, and became himself “the Government”.

Then commenced a controversy over the ownership of Fort Sumter. That defensive work was built for the sole purpose of defending the city and harbor of Charleston from hostile attacks by sea; it was built on land belonging to the State of South Carolina; it was built at the expense of South Carolina and her Confederate sisters as well as of the States still in the Federal Union; and in so far as it was public property it was, in the language of the Constitution, the “property of the United States”—the States of the Union. After some parleying over the request of the Confederate authorities that Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of War be instructed to withdraw the Federal garrison from the fort, with the assurance of a readiness on the part of these authorities to settle amicably any questions relating to property rights, and the discovery that Secretary Seward was, by deceiving the Confederate authorities, planning to gain some advantage over them, a peremptory demand was made for the abandonment of Fort Sumter by the Federal garrison; and when this was refused the Confederates attacked it and compelled the garrison to surrender.

In the mean time Mr. Lincoln and his Secretary of State searched the records for an excuse to declare war against the Confederacy; and they found the old act passed in 1795, which conferred upon the President the power to suppress a "combination" formed in any State to resist the execution of a Federal law, by calling forth the militia of that or of any other State. Then by insisting that the Confederate States were simply such a "combination", and that Fort Sumter belonged to—not the United States—"the Government", they cleared away all obstacles, and Mr. Lincoln entered upon his war of subjugation.

THE WAR FROM APRIL 15 TO JULY 4.

After declaring war against the Confederacy (which the Congress alone possessed the Constitutional power to do), Mr. Lincoln prosecuted it, as Allen Thorndike Rice said, "with more than kingly power". He blockaded the sea-ports of the Confederacy (Apr. 19); he authorized a military officer to suspend the writ of habeas corpus (Apr. 27); he had enlisted and added to the regular army 22,714 men, and to the navy 18,000 men (May 3); he authorized a subordinate officer in Florida to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and to meet the expenses of his war up to July 4—80 days—he drew money out of the treasury—every one of which acts was without constitutional authority; and so glaringly true was this that the Senate refused, after the Congress met on July 4, to even vote on a resolution offered (July 6) by Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, declaring "all these extraordinary acts, proclamations and orders" to be "legal and valid"—as if a Senate Resolution could amend the Constitution.

CHAPTER X.

LINCOLN'S "COMBINATION" FICTION.

Four months after South Carolina had withdrawn from the Union, and more than two months after the adoption of the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate Government, Mr. Lincoln searched diligently for a legal excuse to invade the Confederacy, and he found this in an act passed Feb. 28, 1795, during the rebellion of the whisky distillers in Western Pennsylvania:

"Whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State, or of any other State or States, as may be necessary to suppress such combinations", &c. Here, he published to the world, was power conferred upon him—he found the duty somewhere else—to summon the militia of all the States which had not seceded to invade and subjugate the Confederate States.

Now let the reader stop and reflect. Can he imagine such a perversion of the meaning of this old law in the early days of the Union! When the political leaders of New England were planning to bring about the secession of their States, New York and New Jersey, and the formation of a Northern Confederacy, did it ever occur to Messrs. Geo. Cabot, Timothy Pickering, Josiah Quincy and others of their statesmen, or to Presidents Jefferson and Madison, that such a Confederacy would be a "combination" such as the Whisky Rebellion?

But, after the civilized world became shocked at the determination to treat as pirates the crew of the Savannah, the wanton destruction of private property in the Confederacy, the declaration that medicines were contraband of war, &c., the necessity of justifying such savagery became apparent; and Mr. Lincoln's apologists began a search among standard authorities on international law. The ablest jurists of the United States were selected to examine the pages of Bynkershoek, Vattel, Grotius, Montesquieu, Wheaton, Kent, &c.;

and they claimed to find justification for all the destruction of persons and property in the Confederacy. But international law is defined to be the regulations that govern the intercourse between civilized nations, and the appeal to that law was a recognition of the Confederacy as a "nation". Hence when these jurists made public their justification of the invasion and devastation of the Confederacy, they made public their repudiation of Mr. Lincoln's absurd claim that the States of the Confederacy were a "combination"; and hence inferentially they denied his right to invade these States.

One of the able jurists who appear in the list of apologists was James C. Welling, who was editor of the *National Intelligencer* during the war period. In Allen Thorndike Rice's "*Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*" Mr. Welling places "military necessity" above the Constitution, though he does not tell us when, how or by whom Mr. Lincoln was empowered to substitute any sort of "necessity" for the Constitution. Suspecting, however, that sensible persons may not be altogether satisfied with such a justification, he appeals to "public law", "international law" and "the law of nations" as paramount to the Constitution, thus innocently admitting that the Confederacy was a "nation", and denying the absurd claim in the letter to Minister Adams in which Secretary Seward, referring to the people of the Confederacy, called them "our citizens".

But one of the most interesting apologists of the devastation of the South was Mr. Allen Thorndyke Rice. Falsely assuming that the Southern States seceded in order to preserve slavery, and that Lincoln's invasion was for the purpose of liberating the slaves—although he denies this on pp. XLIV and XLV, of his "*Reminiscences*"—he thrusts aside the Constitution (pp. XLV and XLVI) and sets up "the conscience of the North" as the law of the land—that "conscience" which could justify the passage of acts nullifying the Constitution by legislators who had sworn to be governed by it.

Clearing away, then, every thing that confuses us in our search for the real motive and excuse for the invasion of the Confederacy we come to the naked acceptance of the doctrine

that "might makes right", and that perfidy is excusable if "conscience" demands it. And having acquired this clearness of vision we are prepared to look without surprise on the fact that New England, acting through an Emigrant Aid Company, organized a rebellion against the Federal government in 1854, and that when brought before a Congressional committee appointed to inquire into their crimes, the leaders, including some of the "merchant princes" of Boston, and all of them noted for their devotion to "great moral ideas", gave a false account of their share in the rebellion, and one of them whose name a Kansas town commemorates testified untruthfully that he had had no part in furnishing "Sharpe's Rifles" to "defend Kansas from the American Government", as Rev. Theodore Parker said in his Journal of April 2, 1854, and to support "the great cause", as Rev. Edward Everett Hale called it in his "Kansas and Nebraska".—See Ewing's "Northern Rebellion and Southern Secession".

CHAPTER XI.

THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

After struggling for their personal and property rights, during many generations, with their king, who claimed a divine right to rule according to his own will, our British ancestors constrained King Charles II to consent to the famous Habeas Corpus Act, the full significance of which can be learned from the following comments of Blackstone on this feature of the British Constitution :

“Of great importance to the public is this preservation of personal liberty, for if once it were left in the power of any, the highest magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper, there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities. Some have thought that unjust attacks, even upon life or property, at the arbitrary will of the magistrate are less dangerous to the commonwealth, than such as are made upon the personal liberty of the subject. To bereave a man of life, or by violence to confiscate his estate without accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism, as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the kingdom; but confinement of the person by secretly hurrying him to jail, where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, a less striking, and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government. And yet, sometimes, when the State is in real danger, even this may be a necessary measure. But the happiness of our constitution is that it is not left to the executive power to determine when the danger of the State is so great as to render this measure expedient, for it is the parliament only or legislative power that, whenever it sees proper, can authorize the Crown, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons, without giving any reason for so doing”.

This provision of the British Constitution was adopted and statuted into the Constitution which the thirteen States of North America laid down as the fundamental law of their Union. After delegating to the Congress the power to “raise and support armies”, “to declare war”, &c., they added

this among other restrictions: "The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it".

Not possessing, therefore, the slightest particle of authority for so doing, President Lincoln, in the early months of 1861, usurped the power to suspend the privilege of this writ, and hundreds of the best citizens of Maryland, New York and other States were arrested, without warrants, and imprisoned in Fort McHenry, Fort Warren, Fort Lafayette, &c. Between July 1 and August 19, 1861, one hundred and seventy five gentlemen were thrust into Fort Lafayette, the circumstances of their arrest and confinement being easily inferred from the treatment of Mr. Pierce Butler, who was suspected of being in correspondence with persons in the Confederacy. He was arrested in Philadelphia; there was no warrant or assigned cause; his trunks, drawers, wardrobe, and every thing he had in his apartments were searched, and his private papers were taken from him. Then his office was examined, and his books and papers taken, and then he was hurried off to Fort Lafayette, where he was kept five weeks in confinement; and, when he was liberated, he was denied any legal redress for the outrage.

Another shameful disregard of personal rights, which has been carefully excluded from the War Records—the name of the victim not appearing in the index—was the arrest and confinement of Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, because he claimed that "freedom of speech" which cannot constitutionally be "abridged". He was the son of Jared Ingersoll, a delegate to the Continental Congress (1780-1), a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and was honored with judicial offices till his death; and he himself had been fourteen years District Attorney for Pennsylvania, and ten years (1839-1849) a member of Congress. But this despotic act created such a stir in the North that, as Alden's *Manifold Cyclopedia* says, "it was found advisable to release him, after a brief detention".

Another victim of this despotism was John Merryman, a highly respectable citizen of Maryland. Guilty of no offense known to the laws of any civilized country, he was seized in his bed by an armed force, and imprisoned in Fort McHenry.

He petitioned the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of habeas corpus. It was issued; but it was successfully resisted by the officers of the Washington government. This was in May, 1861, thus early in the war reminding the people of the North as well as of the South that no man possessed any rights which the government felt bound to respect.

Another sample of Mr. Lincoln's means of "saving the Union" was this: In May, 1864, there appeared in the New York World and in the Journal of Commerce a spurious call for four hundred thousand volunteers, which had the President's name signed to it. Without permitting any investigation as to the responsibility for the forgery, Mr. Lincoln ordered Gen. John A. Dix, who was stationed in the city of New York, for some purpose, "forthwith to arrest and imprison in any fort or military prison * * * the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers * * * and hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission for their offense"; and he was further ordered "to take possession, by military force, of the printing establishments * * * and hold the same until further orders".

Another order was sent the same day to Gen. Dix, New York; Gen. Cadwalader, Philadelphia; Col. Bomford, Harrisburg; and Capt. Foster, Pittsburg, "to take military possession of the offices of the Independent Telegraph Company" in all these cities, "and of all the instruments, dispatches, and papers * * *, and arrest the managers, operators, superintendents, and hold them in close custody until further orders, and permit no telegram to be sent", &c.

On the next day an order was sent to Gen. Lew Wallace, Baltimore, to "take military possession of the telegraph line known as the Independent or Inland Telegraph and its offices and instruments, materials, papers, and dispatches"; and to arrest the agents, superintendents, and operators, and "parole them to appear before you when required".

Gen. Dix reported two days afterwards (May 20) that the author of the forged proclamation was Joseph Howard, a writer employed by the New York Times; that he "was very

frank in his confession"; said it was a "stock jobbing operation", intended to affect Wall Street prices.

But Mr. Howard, there being no "warrant", no "presentment or indictment of a grand jury", no "due process of law", no "speedy trial", no rights of any sort supposed to belong to men of the Anglo-Saxon family, was shipped to Fort Lafayette, and kept in close confinement till the 24th of August.

CHAPTER XII.

REGULATIONS AS TO PRISONERS.

A CONTRAST.

In 1775 "the General Court of Massachusetts, exercising a sovereign power, passed an act for encouraging the fitting out of armed vessels to the seacoast of America, and for erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that should be found infesting the same. This act granting letters of marque and reprisal, * * * was pronounced by John Adams, one of the most important documents in history". This was while George III was recognized as the sovereign of those people.

In 1861—86 years afterwards—Abraham Lincoln declared to be pirates the officers and crews of privateers commissioned by the government of the Confederate States, no man being their recognized sovereign.

The Confederacy being exposed at all the seaports to hostile attacks from the powerful naval armament of the United States, and having no navy of its own, resorted to privateering as our ancestors did when John Paul Jones became a terror to British merchantmen. About the same time (Apr. 19, 1861) President Lincoln issued a proclamation forbidding the people of the Confederacy to export their cotton and exchange it for foreign goods, including medicines; and declaring his purpose to treat as pirates any Paul Joneses who might be captured by his naval forces. And this purpose as to prisoners was repeated and emphasized May 21, 1861, in a dispatch from the State Department (which Mr. Lincoln carefully corrected and amended) to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister in London. Accordingly, when the privateer Savannah was captured early in June, 1861, the crew were carried in irons to New York; but, when President Davis, having heard how they were being treated, sent a remonstrance to President Lincoln and a threat to retaliate, the letter, although never answered, had the desired effect. And again a similar threat saved from the gallows the Captain of the Jefferson Davis, who with his crew was confined as a pirate in Philadelphia.

During the early months of the war the status of the Confederate soldiers, when captured, was uncertain. There being no authority conferred by the Constitution to coerce a sovereign State, if it withdrew from the Union, an old law was found, which by a shameful stretch of the imagination was claimed to justify an invasion of the Confederacy. It was passed about the time of the "whisky insurrection" in Western Pennsylvania, and it authorized the use of force whenever there should be a "combination too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings". Hence the Confederate soldier was a "traitor", and the hangman's noose might be expected if he were captured.

But after the 21st of July, 1861, when the battle of Manassas gave to the Confederacy an enormous preponderance of prisoners, the clamors of the families and friends of the prisoners, intensified perhaps by the fears of retaliation, forced the Federal authorities to abandon their claim of "piracy", and to permit commanders in the field to make exchanges under flags of truce. But, after nearly 15,000 Confederates surrendered at Fort Donelson in February, 1862, the Federals refused to make any more exchanges until the successes of the Confederates in Virginia in the first half of 1862 gave them more than 13,000 prisoners. Yielding then to the demands of the families of the prisoners, Mr. Lincoln consented on the 22nd of July to a cartel for exchanges, based on that of the war of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain; and in accordance with it exchanges commenced and continued without much friction till the results of the campaigns of 1862 gave the authorities of the North an excuse to disregard the cartel as well as the clamors of their own people; and, after the fall of Vicksburg on the 4th of July, 1863, sent nearly 32,000 Confederates to Northern prisons the cartel was utterly repudiated by the Federal government. Two days before this disaster President Davis sent Vice-President Stephens with a letter to President Lincoln—there being a glimmer of hope that, as Messrs. Stephens and Lincoln had served together in the 30th Congress, the personal influence of the former might accomplish something—urging compliance with the cartel; but he was not allowed to go farther than Newport News. Then, after repeated failures through the ordinary channels, Presi-

dent Davis sent to President Lincoln a delegation of prisoners from Andersonville to plead their own cause, which those who have read of the "horrors of Andersonville" must suppose would have been effective; but President Lincoln refused to see them, and they went back to the "horrors".

After the fall of Vicksburg, the Confederacy was cut into two parts, neither of them being able to strengthen the other; and as all of Missouri, West Virginia and Kentucky, and nearly all of Tennessee and a considerable part of Arkansas had been overrun by Federal forces, the recruiting ground of the Confederacy was disastrously contracted; and, since the United States authorities, by offering a six-hundred dollar bounty, could draw recruits from Europe, Asia and Africa, the downfall of the Confederacy seemed to be simply a question of time if every captured Confederate soldier were held till the end of the war. This was the reason, as we learn from the records, why the Federal authorities preferred that their captured soldiers should remain without hope in Southern prisons.

NORTHERN HUMANITY.

1. In January, 1863, the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange proposed to the United States Commissioner that all prisoners should be attended by a sufficient number of their own surgeons, who should have power to distribute such contributions of money, food, clothing and medicines as might be forwarded for their relief. But to this communication no reply was ever received.

2. When the delegation of Andersonville prisoners were refused permission to see President Lincoln, they were made to understand that the interests of the United States government required that they go back to the prison and remain there; and the chairman of the delegation declared (according to a letter from his widow) that he was more contemptuously treated by Secretary Stanton than he ever was at Andersonville.—Southern Hist. Society Papers.

3. In the summer of 1864 Mr. Ould, the Confederate Commissioner, offered to purchase medicines from United States authorities for the exclusive use of Federal prisoners, and to pay two or three prices, if necessary, in cotton, tobacco

or gold, adding that Northern surgeons might come with the medicines to insure their exclusive use for Federal prisoners. But no notice was taken of the proposition.

4. In the summer of 1864 the Confederate authorities, satisfied that there would be no further exchanges, offered to deliver, without equivalents, at the mouth of the Savannah river from ten to fifteen thousand sick and wounded Northern prisoners; but transportation did not arrive till November, thus compelling these unfortunate prisoners to endure for three more months "the horrors" of Andersonville.

5. In the autumn of 1864 (See War Records, Series 2, vol. 8, p. 1284) the 6,000 or 8,000 Confederates confined at Rock Island, Ill., "nearly naked and barefooted" in the "chill and pitiless winds of the upper Mississippi", were so shamefully starved that they ate rats, mice and dogs (those which went there "with teams"), and were insulted by having negro guards. Many of them, to save life, "took the oath of allegiance"; but 5,000 of them "resolved to die rather than to do so."

And I add here for the information of coming generations of our people that the report of Surgeon General Barnes for 1865, in which the barbarous treatment of Confederate prisoners and the excessive death-rate in Northern prisons were revealed, cannot be found, as the Surgeon General of the U. S. Army informed "Mr. Marcus J. Wright" in 1905. Even the Secretary of War seems to have been ashamed of its revelations.

CHAPTER XIII.

SAVAGE WARFARE.

In 1775, a year before the Declaration of Independence and while the Colonies acknowledged George III as their sovereign, a Lieutenant Mowatt, of the royal navy, appeared before Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, informing the inhabitants that he had come to inflict just punishment on them for their treason, and giving them two hours "to remove the human species out of the town". A committee of the townspeople managed to stay the bombardment till next morning. Then shells and other missiles began to be fired into the town, and by night "one hundred and thirty nine dwelling houses and two hundred and twenty eight stores, are said to have been burnt".

This was Britian's method of punishing her acknowledged subjects. Of it Washington wrote: "The desolation and misery which ministerial vengeance had planned, in contempt of every principle of humanity, and so lately brought on the town of Falmouth", &c. And Gen. Greene, writing to a friend about this savagery, said that if the Continental Congress could "behold the distress and wretchedness * * * it must, it would, kindle a blaze of indignation against the commissioned pirates and licensed robbers".

Bearing in mind, now, the moral code which George Washington and Nathaniel Greene held to be binding on a royal government in its dealings with disobedient subjects, we are prepared to judge fairly whether Mr. Lincoln's war against people who were not his subjects, can find its justification in that code.

1862, Feb. 9th, Judge Ould, Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, wrote to Col. Ludlow, U. S. Commissioner of Exchange: "I see from your own papers that some dozen of our men, captured at Arkansas Pass, were allowed to freeze to death in one night at Camp Douglas"; and there is no denial of this charge to be found in the War Records.

On Jan. 11, 1863, the whole command to which this writer belonged (about 3,000 officers and privates) was captured at Arkansas Post, and the privates were carried to Camp

Butler, near Springfield, Illinois. The boat which conveyed this writer had scarcely any accommodations for the prisoners, and during a night spent in the river at Memphis one of the privates was frozen to death.

One night, while in Camp Butler, this writer went to the well after water. It was very dark. On his way back a sentinel challenged him for a debate about the causes of the war. In a short time the sentinel discovered that a minie ball was the best argument he had; and he shouted: "Damn you; if you don't get into the barrack, I'll shoot you". Of course the barrack was sought; and, just as the flash of light showed him where the door was, he fired his gun, the ball missing his victim by a hair's breadth.

"Was he reported to his superior officers?" some reader may ask. His act was the best proof of his "patriotism"; and the prisoners knew very well that the legal code of the prison was satisfactorily typified by the name of the commander (Col. Lynch).

One day this Col. Lynch ordered all the prisoners out of their quarters, and into line; and, while one set of his underlings were searching our sleeping places for plunder, another set were searching our persons for money. Many prisoners were compelled to take off their shoes, and, if one was slow in turning his pocket inside out, the "patriot" would thrust his hand into it.

And when, about the middle of April, we were placed on a railroad train to be sent South, pillagers were sent through each car to take from us everything we had except the clothes we had on and one blanket apiece, many of us having had the good luck to draw an extra coat or blanket out of a supply sent us by some ladies of Missouri and Arkansas.

On April 5, 1863, some physicians who had been employed by the "United States Sanitary Commission" to visit and inspect Camp Douglas, near Chicago, and Gratiot Street prison, Saint Louis, reported from Albany, N. Y.: "In our experience we have never witnessed so painful a spectacle as that presented by these wretched inmates; without change of clothing, covered with vermin, they lie in cots, without mattresses, or with mattresses furnished by private charity, without sheets or bedding of any kind, except blankets, often in rags; in wards reeking with filth and foul air. The stench

is most offensive. * * * From January 27, 1863, when the prisoners (in number about 3,800) arrived at Camp Douglas, to February 18th, the day of our visit, 385 patients have been admitted to the hospitals, of whom 130 have died. * * * Besides this, 130 prisoners have died in barracks, not having been able to gain admission even to the miserable accommodations of the hospital, and at the time of our visit 150 persons were sick in barracks waiting for room in hospital”.

Then, after describing the conditions at Saint Louis, which they said were worse than those at Chicago, they added: “It is surely not the intention of our government to place these prisoners in a position which will secure their extermination by pestilence in less than a year”.

On May 25, 1863, H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, issued this order from the War Department, Washington, D. C.: “No Confederate officer will be paroled or exchanged till further orders. They will be kept in close confinement”, &c.

In the winter of 1863-4 the barbarous treatment of the Confederate prisoners in Camp Chase caused them to send a respectful protest to the Commander of the prison, according to Private W. C. Dodson (of Wheeler’s cavalry) in the *Atlanta Journal*; and for this offense every signer of the complaint was treated to “ball and chain and handcuffs”, among them being S. F. Nunnelee, who had been shot in his hip, and could hardly walk before he was shackled.

On July 14, 1864, Gen. B. H. Robertson reported from John’s Island to the Confederate Commander in Charleston, informing him that after a skirmish with the enemy “negro prisoners asserted that Col. Silliman, commanding Twenty-sixth Regiment U. S. Colored Troops, in the presence of Brig.-Gen. R. Saxton (who has always commanded negroes), gave orders to show no quarter”; and he further said that Private Cooper, of Company B, Second South Carolina Cavalry, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, after being wounded; but that the ground was recovered, and Cooper was found to have been bayoneted “in six or seven different places”.

A few nights after July 22, 1864, as I was sitting on our breastwork on the south side of Atlanta, I saw the first of

Sherman's mortar shells flying through the air and falling into the city—a piece of fiendishness about which he and General Hood had an interesting correspondence.

In Mr. J. C. Hines' diary he says that in Fort Delaware prison Colonel Lewis, a South Carolinian, was returning from a privy to the barracks when a sentinel ordered him to "double-quick". Being a wounded sufferer, he refused; whereupon he was shot and killed. This was in July 1864.

During the war there was an effort to release the Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas, Ill. One of the parties engaged in the plot was Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell, who came across the water after long and faithful service in the British army. He was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and sent to Fort Jefferson which had been built on one of the Tortugas Islands in the Gulf of Mexico as a prison for bounty-jumpers and deserters. On Jan. 15, 1868—three years after the close of the war—he addressed a letter from this prison to Henry L. Stone, Esq., Louisville, Ky. (See *Confederate Veteran*, April, 1906), in which this occurs:

"This is not to be wondered at when I tell you that I was shut up in a close dungeon for ten months, every orifice carefully stopped up except one for air, denied speech with any one, light, books, or papers. I could neither write nor receive letters. I was gagged twice, tied up by my thumbs twice, three times drowned (I am not exaggerating), and all this for having written an account to a friend of some punishments inflicted on soldiers and prisoners here, and the bare truth only, which statement he (Gen. Johnson) published in the *New York World*".

On April 22, 1864, Col. Ryan, commanding post, writing to Gen. Kimball from Lewisburg, Ark., said: "I have just returned from Prairie County. * * * I have a scouting party in that county, who will remain there three days. They will notify the principal citizens that they and their property will be held responsible for the lives and property of Union men"—traitors to their State.

On Nov. 24, 1864, Milton Dotson, of Perrin's Mississippi Cavalry Regiment, was captured at Powder Springs, Ga.; and Gen. O. O. Howard ordered him shot in retaliation for the killing of one of his soldiers. After the report of this

order reached Judge Ould, Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, he protested to Gen. Grant against such barbarity; but his letter was never answered.

On April 21, 1865, Brig.-Gen. R. W. Johnson, Pulaski, Tenn., writing to Gen. Whipple, Department of the Cumberland, said: "On Sunday, the 9th inst., three soldiers, Brewer, Stutts, and Kiddy by name, with two confederates, who would not show themselves, and cannot therefore be identified, belonging to a company of the Second Tennessee Mounted Infantry, U. S. Army, which is stationed at Clifton, came to the house of Mr. William Johnson, living on Sugar Creek, some eighteen or twenty miles southwest of this place, and demanded of his wife, he not being at home, \$12,000. She told them she had no money, when they hung her and her daughter several times, completing their diabolical work by each of them outraging the person of Mrs. Johnson. From Johnson's house these men went to the house of John D. Wade, Johnson's brother-in-law, living in the same neighborhood, and by the same process of hanging and threats extracted \$50 from him", &c., &c.

On April 24, 1865, Col. Vail, 17th Indiana Mounted Infantry, reported as follows to his superior officer:

"I would respectfully call your attention to the fact that a great number of depredations are being committed by parties of brigands, dressed in our own and Confederate uniforms, on all the roads leading (from Macon, Ga.) into the country. Houses are burned and the country desolated as far out as fifteen miles. * * * There seems to be no pickets on the roads, and negroes are coming into the city from every direction and will soon become a burden and endanger the city. I would respectfully ask that some measures be taken to prevent them from coming here". Whereupon his superior officer, Maj. Beaumont, writes: "Picket posts, outposts, and vedettes must at once be properly posted to prevent the influx of negroes and depredations by our own troops", &c.

On May 25, 1865, four gentlemen who represent themselves as "late members of Congress", writing from Paducah, Ky., to Secretary Stanton, said:

"Small bodies of colored soldiers, sent from Columbus,

Ky., into Northwest Tennessee to recruit, are committing unparalleled depredations. Shameful outrages on persons and property of the most loyal are inflicted; and, worse still, they are breaking into the court-houses and public offices and utterly destroying all State and county records, court papers, guardian and administrators' bonds, dockets, judgments, and title papers".

On June 27, 1865, Capt. Johnson, Second Maine Cavalry, reporting from Montgomery, Ala., to Gen. A. J. Smith, Sixteenth Army Corps, said: "It appears that deserters from both armies have been lurking about in Coffee county and adjoining counties for over a year, committing depredations upon the property of both loyal and disloyal men. * * * From the best information I could gather more than fifty men, mostly deserters from the First Florida Cavalry, U. S. Army, are engaged in robbing, plundering, and committing acts of violence".

On Sept. 4, 1865—nearly five months after the surrender of the Confederate "combination"—President Johnson sent a dispatch to Gen. Thomas, Nashville, Tenn., in which this occurs:

"I have information of the most reliable character that the negro troops stationed at Greenville, Tennessee, are under little or no restraint, and are committing depredations throughout the country, domineering over, and in fact running the white people out of the neighborhood. Much of this is said to be attributable to the officers, who countenance and rather encourage the negroes in their insolence and in their disorderly conduct. The negro soldiery take possession of and occupy property in the town at discretion, and have even gone so far as to have taken my own house and converted it into a rendezvous for male and female negroes, who have been congregated there, in fact making it a common negro brothel".

CHAPTER XIV.

RESPECT FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY AND FOR NON-COMBATANTS.

A CONTRAST.

On January 28, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, in an order issued at "Camp near Beatty's Ford", said it was "needless to point out to the officers the necessity of preserving the strictest discipline, and of preventing the oppressed people from suffering violence by the hands from whom they are taught to look for protection".

On Feb. 17, 1781, he issued another order from "Head-quarters, Dobbins House", in which he said: "Any officer who looks on with indifference and does not do his utmost to prevent shameful marauding will be considered in a more criminal light than the persons who commit these scandalous crimes".

And again: on March 1, 1781, an order was issued at "Smith's Plantation" to search for a "watch" and some other articles of which "a woman" had been robbed, &c.

On December 18, 1864, Gen. Halleck sent this dispatch to Gen. Sherman, who was at Savannah: "Should you capture Charleston, I hope that by some accident the place may be destroyed"; and Sherman, replying, said: "I will bear in mind your hint as to Charleston. * * * When I move the Fifteenth Corps will be on the right of the right wing, and their position will bring them naturally into Charleston first, and if you have watched the history of that corps you will have remarked that they generally do their work up pretty well".

And this General's army, when it reached Fayetteville, N. C., burnt the arsenal, five dwelling houses near it, the office of the Fayetteville Observer, the old Bank of North Carolina, eleven large warehouses, five cotton mills, and several dwellings in various parts of the town; and in the suburbs almost everything was destroyed, including nine houses in one locality.—See Dowd's Life of Vance.

On May 1st, 1862, New Orleans fell into the hands of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; and then fol-

lowed a reign of terror, robbery, and outrages of every description, such as these people had hoped that even the "God-fearing Puritans" would not be guilty of.

Of the crimes committed by this man against persons and property, against the old and the young, against male and female, there is no need of my going into particulars; but I cannot dismiss him without recording three of his acts:

1. A boat's crew, five days before the occupation of New Orleans by the invaders, placed a U. S. flag on the mint; whereupon Wm. B. Mumford and some others took it down and restored the Confederate flag. For this deed Gen. Butler had Mumford hung.

2. In August, 1862, Gen. Butler robbed the Louisiana State bank of New Orleans, and sent all its assets and deposits to the treasury at Washington.

3. When the ladies of New Orleans, after having had abundant evidence of the savagery of their masters, ceased to treat them as gentlemen worthy of their respects, Gen. Butler issued an order that these ladies should be "regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman about town plying her vocation."

On the 17th of July, 1862, the Federal Congress passed an act to confiscate "all the estate and property, moneys, stocks, and credits" of every Confederate soldier who refused, after "public warning" for sixty days to desert the military service of the Confederacy.

In his message announcing his approval of this shameful work of perjured usurpers, Mr. Lincoln said:

"It is startling to say that Congress can free a slave within a State and yet, if it were said the ownership of the slave had first been transferred to the nation"—the North, of course, being the nation—"and Congress had then liberated him, the difficulty would at once vanish. And this is the real case".

The day after the passage of this act Major General Pope issued an order that "as far as practicable" his army should "subsist" upon the property of Virginia; and on the same day he issued "General Orders No. 7", in which he notified the people in his rear that they should be responsible for any damage done by "guerrillas" to the railroads and tele-

graph lines of which he had robbed their owners; and that, if one of his men were fired on at any place "distant from settlements", the people within five miles around should "be held accountable, and made to pay an indemnity sufficient for the case".

On July 22, 1862, the Secretary of War, under instructions from President Lincoln, issued an order empowering military commanders in Virginia and elsewhere "to seize and use any property, real or personal, which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands for supplies or for other military purposes", and "to keep accounts sufficiently accurate and in detail to show quantities and amounts and from whom taken, as a basis upon which compensation can be made in proper cases". This was morally on a par with highway robbery, and the pretense that "compensation" would be made was designed to deceive honest on-lookers throughout the civilized world.

On July 23, 1862, Gen. John Pope issued an order directing the murder of peaceable Virginians as spies, if found quietly tilling their farms in his rear; and Steinwehr, one of his brigade commanders, seized upon innocent and peaceable inhabitants, to be held as hostages, to the end that they might be murdered in cold blood if any of his marauders were killed by some unknown persons whom he called "bushwhackers".

On Aug. 6, 1862, Capt. Israel Stough, 44th Ohio Infantry, reporting a trip made by him and 155 of his men from Meadow Bluff to Greenbrier River, W. V., on a raid, says: "I arrested on the evening of the same day Lanty Graham and his son, Joseph A. The old man is known to be a violent secessionist. I also brought in 3 of his horses, which have been handed over to the brigade quartermaster".

In May, 1863, Col. Benjamin Henry Grierson with three regiments of cavalry made a raid from the Northern border of Mississippi through the interior of the State, and joined Gen. Banks at Baton Rouge, and during the trip he disgraced the name of soldier by pillage and arson and savage outrages against defenseless women and children.

During the war a Bureau was established by the Washington government to take charge of town and country prop-

erty from which the owners had been driven. Such property was leased to tenants, and the rents were sent to the treasury at Washington.

In March, 1863, Col. Ulric Dahlgren, with five hundred marauders, struck the James River and Kanawha canal twenty-two miles west of Richmond. Thence he moved towards the city pillaging and destroying dwelling houses, out-buildings, mills, canal boats, grain, and cattle, and cutting one lock on the canal.

On March 12, 1863, an act was passed by the U. S. Congress authorizing and directing military commanders to take possession of and sell or lease any lands, houses, stock, or any property from which the owners had been driven, and convert the proceeds of the sales or leases to the public use.

In 1863 President Lincoln employed Dr. Francis Lieber to frame a code of rules for the government of armies engaged in "civilized" warfare. Dr. Lieber was a Prussian; he believed in the doctrine that "all just government rests on the consent of the governed"; he had been in a Prussian prison on the charge of plotting against the government; he had proved his faith by going to the assistance of Greece when she was struggling for the rights the Confederacy claimed; he had finally fled to the United States for safety; and had been honored by South Carolina with the Professorship of Political Economy in her University. Among the rules agreed upon by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers were the following: "It is lawful to starve the hostile belligerent, armed or unarmed"; "military necessity admits of all direct destruction of life and limb of armed enemies and of other persons whose destruction is incidentally unavoidable * *

* and of all withholding of sustenance or means of life from the enemy"; and, as to giving warning to women and children of the invader's intention to bombard a city, "it is no infraction of the common laws of war to fail to do so".

These regulations could mean nothing less than that President Lincoln, in order to "save the Union", as he called it, possessed a right to destroy all means of subsistence in eleven of the States, as he claimed, of the Union, and to exterminate the people by famine or shot or shell or fire.

In the latter part of August, 1863, J. H. Grider, Com-

mander at Bowling Green, Kentucky, sent this order to Mr. Richard Browder: "You are hereby ordered to pay to J. H. Morton at these headquarters on the 1st day of September, 1864, \$100, for the purpose of re-imbursing Union citizens in your county and neighborhood for their losses by rebel soldiers and guerrillas. By not complying fully with this order an additional sum of 50 per cent will be added to the above amount".

Against this outrage Gov. Thomas E. Bramlette appealed to President Lincoln, September 3rd; but no notice was taken of it.

On Nov. 5, 1863, Major-General U. S. Grant issued from Chattanooga General Orders, No. 4, in which this occurs: "Wealthy secession citizens will be assessed in money and provisions for the support of Union refugees who have and may be driven from their homes and into our lines by the acts of those with whom such secession citizens are in sympathy".

On Jan. 16, 1864, Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs directed Brigadier General Robt. Allen, Quartermaster at Louisville, Ky., to gather for the use of the U. S. armies all the crops on "the Mississippi plantations" from which their owners had been driven.

In April, 1864, General Orders No. 43, issued from the headquarters of Major General Franklin (U. S. Forces in West La.), declared that, while the Federal army was marching from Grand Ecore, La., to Alexandria, there was "indiscriminate marauding and incendiarism".

On April 30, 1864, Secretary Stanton sent an order to the commanders of the armies directing them to supply their troops with "animals and provisions from the territory through which military operations are (were) conducted"; and for fear perhaps that the civilized world would be shocked by the barbarity of the order, he added that this order "will not be printed".

On May, 22, 1864, Gen. John P. Hatch reported that Gen. Birney had ravaged a part of Florida, carrying off 3,000 cattle and 150 bales of cotton.

On August 6, 1864, H. W. Bowers, Assistant Adjutant General, reported from Key West, Florida, that the Sec-

ond Florida Cavalry (traitors to their State), assisted by some companies of the Second U. S. Colored Troops, had "during the past month, captured 17 horses, 8 mules, 530 bags of cotton"; and had "destroyed" 3 plantations, 1 mill, 2 bridges, and one fourth of a mile of railroad track.

Secretary Stanton, writing Aug. 7, 1864, to Major-General Burbridge, Louisville, Ky., said

"Your mode of mounting cavalry by seizing horses of disloyal persons is approved, and you are authorized to seize all you can lay your hands on; and if you do not need them yourself, turn them over to the Quartermaster's Department for general service".

On August 17, 1864, 342 Ohio and Massachusetts troops, commanded by Col. A. L. Harris, 75th Ohio Mounted Infantry, made a plundering raid through a part of Florida. At Gainesville they were met by 175 Florida cavalymen, commanded by Col. J. J. Dickison, Second Florida Cavalry, who defeated and scattered them, capturing 188 prisoners, killing 18, and wounding 5, and recovering a large amount of property which had been taken away from private families in that section by these "grandly loyal defenders of the Republic".

Whereupon Gen. John P. Hatch, Headquarters District of Florida, writing to Col. Harris, Sept. 27, said: "Your men disgraced their country by their lawless pillage. That troops so little under discipline meet with a disgraceful defeat is not surprising".

In compliance with the purpose of the "rules" Gen. Robert H. Milroy, when he coveted the dwelling of Mr. Lloyd Logan, of Winchester, Virginia, as headquarters for himself and a home for his wife, drove out Mrs. Logan and her family, including a sick child, forbidding their carrying with them a change of clothing and the medicine which a physician had prescribed for the child.

On October 17, 1864, Gen. W. T. Sherman wrote from Summerville, Ga., to Gen. James. H. Wilson: "I am going into the very bowels of the Confederacy and propose to leave a trail that will be recognized fifty years hence."

On the same day (17th) he wrote to Col. Beckwith: "I propose to abandon Atlanta and the railroad back of Chatta-

nooga, and sally forth to ruin Georgia and bring up on the seashore”.

On October 29, 1864, while he was at Rome, Ga., he wrote as follows to Brig-Gen. Watkins, Calhoun, Ga.: “Cannot you send over about Fairmount and Adairsville, burn ten or twelve houses of known secessionists, kill a few at random, and let them know that it will be repeated every time a train is fired on from Resaca to Kinston”—on the railroad, he meant, of which he had robbed its owners.

At the close of Gen. Sherman’s “glorious march through Georgia,” he reported to Gen. Halleck that he had devastated a strip of the State “thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah,” and that he had damaged the State as much as \$100,000,000, the principal objects of his wrath being, according to Gen. Judson Kilpatrick, cotton, meal, fodder, molasses, salt, grist-mills, saw-mills, cotton gins, rice, potatoes, wagons, carts, tools, &c.

In the autumn of 1864 Gen. P. H. Sheridan, with 55,000 troops, devastated the famous Valley of Virginia, embracing seven or eight of the best wheat-producing counties in the Confederacy. He wrote: “I have destroyed over 2,000 barns filled with wheat, hay and farming implements; over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army 4,000 head of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops over 3,000 sheep”. And he boasted that if a crow undertook to fly across the Valley he would “have to carry his rations with him”—a boast which the New York American said in January, 1903, might have applied to the “entire South”.

On Sept. 20, 1864, when Gen. Grant heard of this wholesale highway robbery, he ordered Gens. Butler and Meade to fire 100 guns in honor of it. And the spirit and purpose of the Federal authorities may be inferred, if we had no other evidence, from a dispatch sent from Atlanta on the 27th of August, 1864. It said: “Gen. Sherman says if Gillmore has taken Charleston and fails to lay the city in ashes, he will be sacrificed by his troops. His superiors, the Northern people, demand the utter destruction of Charleston”.

On February 24, 1865, Lieutenant Andrew Jackson, of an Indiana Cavalry Regiment, reported that he with 25 men

had destroyed all the bridges in a certain part of South Carolina; a grist mill; 2 warehouses, with 1,500 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of wheat, 75 sacks of flour, 19 barrels of molasses, 6 bales of cotton, 10 bales of hay; and a lot of axes, saws, picks, shovels, &c.

Another sample of such warfare occurred in South Carolina after the war was ended. An ex-soldier from Texas, named Calvin Crozier, was on his way home, accompanied by some ladies. When the train arrived at Newberry some lawless negro soldiers who were in camp near by went into the car and grossly insulted the ladies. Crozier and some others resented the insults, and one of the negroes was slightly wounded. Before the train left the commander of the negroes, Col. Trowbridge, sent a squad of them to arrest the offender. They made a mistake and seized a railroad employe, who without a trial was ordered to be shot. Crozier having heard of the arrest and condemnation of this man went to the negro camp and declared that he was the man who inflicted the wound; and at sunrise next morning he was shot.

In illustration of the work done in compliance with the "rules of civilized warfare", the following incident is a fitting sample: An officer belonging to Col. John S. Mosby's command was posted with a small detachment of men just outside the lines of Sheridan's cavalry, while they were unfitting the Valley of Virginia for the passage of a crow, to watch the movements of scouting parties. It was night; and in the effort to obtain information this detachment penetrated the enemy's lines, and when they started back to their camp they were compelled to kill a picket. For this the Federal commander sent out a body of men and burned the homes of four peaceful citizens. At daylight, seeing the house of a Mr. Sowers on fire, a detachment of Mosby's men went after the incendiaries, and found them so loaded down with plunder that they did not stop to face their pursuers, although numerically they were fully able to cope with them. They had robbed the house of everything they could carry off, not allowing the family anything except the clothes they wore.

In March, 1865, some of Gen. W. T. Sherman's soldiers

robbed Alexander O. Grady, the father of this writer. They took his buggy, hitched his best horse to it, broke open his smoke-house, loaded the buggy with the choicest pieces of bacon, which they carried off. They were preparing to break into his clock in their search for money, but they were persuaded by one of his faithful slaves to let the clock alone, he assuring them there was no money in it. And they went over the neighborhood searching for hidden treasure, using their bayonets as probes, thus exhibiting traits of character which tradition has never attributed to the soldiers of Cornwallis, who marched through that county on their way from Wilmington to Yorktown.

During the time of the subjugation of Missouri the famous "Thom. Ewing Order" was issued, by which the population of two counties was deported and their property was destroyed.

Early in the war General Robert E. Lee's home place at Arlington was seized by agents of the Washington government, and during his life compensation was refused.

In August, 1865, three months after the war ended, 331 bales of cotton belonging to the State of North Carolina were seized by a Federal treasury agent; and in April, 1866, 125 other bales were seized; and the State's appeals for justice have all fallen on deaf ears.

As soon as Southern farmers succeeded, after the war, in producing a good crop of cotton, and were looking with hope on the prospect of repairing much of the damage done by Northern troops, the Congress levied a tax of two cents per pound on the crop, and the farmers were compelled to "stand and deliver"; and although the Supreme Court decided that Congress possessed no power to take this money, it has never been returned to its owners.

CHAPTER XV.

ANDERSONVILLE.

As the inroads on the Confederacy, contracting its borders and destroying the means of subsistence, rendered it unsafe as well as inconvenient to maintain military prisons where their capture could be effected by advancing armies or raiders, and as there was no hope of early exchanges, Andersonville, Ga., was selected early in 1864 as a site for one of the principal prisons. It was in the southwest part of the State, out of the reach of raiders; it was in a healthy country; water and timber were abundant; and it was in the midst of productive farms. To this place prisoners were transferred from the exposed cities and towns of the Confederacy, the transfers beginning in February, 1864. These men fared just as their guards did, having the same rations and the same medical attention, and as to the "horrors" of their treatment, of which so much has been said and written during the last forty years, we may judge from the fact, reported by Secretary Stanton on July 19, 1866, that of the 220,000 (round numbers) Confederates in Northern prisons 26,436, or 12 per cent. died; while of 270,000 Federal soldiers confined in the Southern prisons only 22,576, or 8 per cent. died. It is true that this excess of mortality of Southern soldiers was explained by Mr. Blaine, in his debate with Mr. Hill, of Georgia, by claiming that "during the later period of the war" Confederates fell into the hands of their captors "very much exhausted, ill-fed, diseased", &c., Mr. Blaine being unconscious of the extravagant compliment he was paying these men—men who, thus disabled for service, stood manfully in line of battle fighting for the Confederacy.

About the middle of May, 1864, gangrene and scurvy made their appearance in the Andersonville prison, and in June Gen. John H. Winder, who had general charge of prisons, went there to search for causes and to provide remedies. After studying the situation he advised a removal of the prisoners to other points; and forthwith he was instructed to remove them to Millen and elsewhere as soon as arrangements could be perfected. Gen. Winder did all that he

could to abate the pestilence while arranging for hospital accommodations outside the prison and for removals of prisoners, and while Commissioner Ould was endeavoring to purchase from the Federal Authorities those medicines which were "contraband of war". In September Gen. Winder removed the main body of the prisoners to Millen and thence to Florence, S. C.

CHAPTER XVI.

MORRIS ISLAND BARBARITY.

About May 1, 1864, the inroads of the enemy on the northern borders of the Confederacy began to necessitate the removal of Federal prisoners to safer places in the South, as Andersonville, Savannah, Charleston, &c. To the latter place were carried on June 12 fifty Federal officers, five of them being generals; and on the next day Gen. Sam. Jones, the Confederate commander, sent this letter to Gen. Foster, the Federal commander at Hilton Head:

"Five generals and forty-five field officers of the U. S. army, all of them prisoners of war, have been sent to this city for safe keeping. They have been turned over to Brig.-Gen. Ripley, commanding the First Military District of this Department, who will see that they are provided with commodious quarters in a part of the city occupied by non-combatants, the majority of whom are women and children. It is proper, however, that I should inform you that it is a part of the city which has been for many months"—nine—"exposed day and night to the fire of your guns".

On June 15 the Federal officer on Folly Island, to whom Gen. Ripley had written about these prisoners, announced that he would continue "the usual fire on the city, with a constant change of direction", until he received further orders.

On June 16 Gen. Foster informed Gen. Jones that application had been made to President Lincoln for fifty Confederate officers whom he might expose to the fire of the guns in the Confederate fortifications at Charleston.

Thereupon the following Confederate officers were sent from Fort Delaware to Charleston, arriving at Hilton Head on June 30: Maj.-Gens. Edward Johnson and Franklin Gardner; Brig.-Gens. J. J. Archer, Geo. H. Steuart and M. Jeff. Thompson; Cols. R. Welby Carter, N. Cobb, Basil W. Duke, M. J. Ferguson, J. M. Hanks, Richard C. Morgan, James A. Pell, W. H. Peebles, A. S. Vandeventer, Wm. W. Ward, Wm. Barbour, J. N. Brown, J. A. Jaquess, B. E. Caudill, W. H. Forney; Lieut.-Cols. James F. Brewer (probably a mistake for Joseph T. Brewer, of Forrest's Cavalry),

P. E. Davant, J. P. Fitzgerald, C. L. Haynes, O. A. Patton, W. M. Parsley, A. L. Swingley, Joseph T. Tucker, D. H. L. Martz, A. Dupree, T. C. Jackson, M. J. Smith, D. W. Anderson; Majors J. W. Caldwell, J. T. Carson, W. T. Ennett, J. E. Groce, Horace A. Higley, E. M. Henry, E. A. Nash, L. J. Perkins, Geo. H. Smith, E. J. Sanders, T. Steele, Thomas B. Webber, J. M. Wilson, W. H. Manning, T. E. Upshaw, F. F. Warley, and W. L. Davidson.

On June 27 Gen. Foster ordered the officer on Morris Island to erect quarters for these prisoners in places where they would be most exposed to the fire of Confederate batteries and forts; though he omits Halleck's order to have them "put in irons, if necessary".

The day after the prisoners reached Hilton Head, and while the transport carrying them was "anchored under the guns of the Wabash", the Federal prisoners in Charleston heard what was going on; and the generals wrote this letter to Gen. Foster:

"The journals of this morning (July 1) inform us, for the first time, that 5 general officers of the Confederate service have arrived at Hilton Head, with a view to their being subjected to the same treatment that we are receiving here. We think it is just to ask for these officers every kindness and courtesy that you can extend to them, in acknowledgment of the fact that we, at this time, are as pleasantly and comfortably situated as is possible for prisoners of war, receiving from the Confederate authorities every privilege that we could desire or expect, nor are we unnecessarily exposed to fire." The signers were H. W. Wessells, T. Seymour, E. P. Scammon, C. A. Heckman and Alexander Shaler.

On the same day these five generals sent to the War Department at Washington a statement similar to the one quoted above, and urged that arrangements be made for a general exchange of prisoners. They said: "There are many thousands confined at southern points of the Confederacy, in a climate to which they are unaccustomed, deprived of much of the food, clothing, and shelter they have habitually received, and it is not surprising that from these and other causes that need not be enumerated here much suffering, sickness and death should ensue". And they added that it was

their firm belief that exchanges were "called for by every consideration of humanity".

On July 4 Gen. Foster wrote to Gen. Jones and also to the five general officers reciprocating "the desire for an exchange of prisoners", but insisting on the removal of those prisoners from Charleston as a necessary condition precedent, thus demanding a confession of the truth of the falsehood which those officers had exposed. Of course, this was not done.

On July 7 Gen. Foster sent to Gen. Halleck the letter of the five generals, and suggested that an exchange be made.

On July 19, President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton and Gen. Halleck having had time to consider the effect of the letter of the five generals on the relatives and friends of these prisoners who were suffering the "horrors" of Andersonville, Halleck wrote a letter to Foster which has been lost or destroyed; but its contents were understood by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart L. Woodford (127th New York Volunteers), Agent for exchange, to authorize something like a general exchange. In his letter to Gen. Foster (Series I, Vol. XXXV, Part 2, War Records, p. 280) he says in reference to an exchange he had made with Major Lay, Confederate Agent: "Supposing that you had authority under Gen. Halleck's letter of July 19 to do so", &c. Evidently there was something in Halleck's letter which subsequent events rendered it prudent to suppress, this inference from Woodford's letter being strengthened by this sentence in Gen. Grant's letter to the Secretary of War in which he orders (August 21) that no more exchanges be allowed: "I telegraph this from just hearing that some 500 or 600 more prisoners had been sent to Major-General Foster".

On July 20 a report from Folly Island said the "prison-houses for the rebel prisoners" were not completed.

On July 28 a report said these prisoners were still on board the vessel which carried them to Hilton Head.

On July 29 Gen. Foster informed Gen. Jones that he was authorized to exchange prisoners; and accordingly it was done on the 3rd of August. But the letter from the War Department authorizing this exchange has been lost or suppressed, as it cannot be found in the War Records.

Thus we reach the end of an episode of the war which can

reflect nothing but discredit on Gen. Foster and the War Department. The full history has not reached us; many letters appear to have been suppressed; and we are left to our imaginations. But there can be no doubt, in view of the testimony which has been preserved that there was no justification for Foster's having these prisoners sent to Charleston; and the only excuse we can imagine to-day was his desire to commend himself to his masters at Washington City or to "fire the hearts" of the Northern people.

August 3, 1864, Gen. Schimmelfennig reported that two escaped Federal officers (prisoners) told him that 650 Federal prisoners were in Charleston jail, lately brought there from Macon. They said two other bodies of Federal prisoners, amounting to about 1000, had been started to Charleston, but for some reason they were not brought through.

On August 4, Gen. Foster wrote from Hilton Head to Gen. Halleck advising a general exchange of prisoners. His views were known to the Confederate authorities, and their anxiety for an exchange caused them to remove to Charleston several hundred prisoners from other places. On this very day "three line officers escaped from the railroad train en route to Charleston" were sent North with the 50 officers. Here is Foster's letter:

"The information given by our prisoners of war, now liberated, and by deserters, also by the late rebel papers, represent that our soldiers now prisoners at Andersonville, Ga., are destitute of comforts and necessities, and are rapidly dying. The number of deaths per day varies, according to reports, from 30 to 70. I do not know what the wishes of the government may be, but if it desire that our imprisoned soldiers may be exchanged, so as to relieve them from their distress, I can easily have the matter arranged with the Confederate authorities so as to effect an exchange here. The exchange can be made by way of the Savannah River, and we can easily arrange to guard any number of prisoners on our islands here, and to supply them at least as bountifully as our men are supplied that are in the hands of the enemy.

"I think the Confederate authorities are very desirous to have an exchange effected, both of officers and of men. The

insecure position in which our prisoners have been confined probably causes this desire. They have already been obliged to remove our officers from Macon, and 600 of them have already arrived at Charleston and the others are to follow; this from its being the only secure place and the hope that it may induce to a still further exchange.

"I shall notify Maj.-Gen. Samuel Jones that no more exchanges will be made through Charleston Harbor, and that if any are authorized by the government they will be made by the Savannah River. The effect of this is to induce them to remove our officers from Charleston to Savannah, so that our fire may be continued on the city without the risk of hurting our friends. I have, however, taken pains to ascertain where our prisoners were confined so as to direct the fire to the other parts".

On August 6 Gen. Foster gave instructions to Lieut.-Col Stewart L. Woodford, Acting Judge-Advocate, directing him to accompany Maj. J. F. Anderson, aide-de-camp, to Port Royal Ferry, for the purpose of being introduced to Maj. Lay, of the Confederate forces, as the officer who would in future conduct all exchanges at that point. On the 16th he obeyed his instructions, and on the 17th he reported to Gen. Foster. Among other things he said:

"In conformity with an arrangement previously made between Majors Anderson and Lay, I took with me 8 Confederate privates and duly exchanged them for the same number of U. S. soldiers. * * *

"In obedience to your verbal instructions, given me on the 14th inst., I asked Major Lay what authority he had in regard to the future exchange of prisoners, and he replied that he was empowered to exchange man for man and rank for rank, as many prisoners of war as we would deliver to him in this department. He further stated that he was able to exchange a large number of private soldiers, and was directed to facilitate such exchange by all proper means.

"I replied that you were personally desirous of exchanging all the prisoners of war whom you properly could, and that you had written to the War Department at Washington, asking instructions upon the entire subject of a further exchange in this department. * * *

"In conclusion, I would respectfully state that I am fully

satisfied that an exchange of our officers now confined at Charleston, Savannah, and Macon can be effected, as also of many of our soldiers who are confined and suffering at Andersonville, Ga. The privates received by me yesterday unite in describing the condition of their late comrades at Andersonville as being pitiful in the extreme. * * * They beg the government to at least exchange as many of their number as possible, and thus save them from further agony. In their prayer I respectfully concur”.

On August 9 Gen. Jones wrote as follows to Gen. Foster:

“I have the honor to communicate to you that Maj. J. F. Lay, assistant adjutant-general of my staff, will meet any officer of your staff whom you may designate, at Port Royal Ferry, on Tuesday morning next (16th instant), at 8 a. m. Major Lay will deliver to him the equivalent of 26 privates, reported by him as due to your government upon the recent exchange, and will also take down a number of privates in exchange for those now held by you, a willingness to exchange whom was expressed by Major Anderson, of your staff. There has been an unavoidable delay in bringing to this place the officers desired for exchange”.

On August 12 Col. E. G. Marshall, 14th N. Y. Artillery, wrote from the Columbia (S. C.) prison to Gen. Sam. Jones, as follows:

“I am one of the unfortunate prisoners of war now confined at this place. I would ask you if there is a likelihood of an early exchange through your department, and, if so, you will cause my transfer to Charleston, so I may be exchanged as early as possible?”

On August 15th Gen. Foster informed Gen. Jones that he had received information that 600 “rebel prisoners” were to be sent to Charleston to be exposed to the fire of Confederate guns; but no letter or dispatch conveying this information can be found in the War Records.

On August 17 Lieut.-Col. Woodford wrote the letter partly quoted above, informing Gen. Foster of his interview with Maj. Lay, Woodford having had “verbal instructions” from Foster. And a question arises just here: If on August 14 Gen. Foster encouraged the Confederates to expect something like a general exchange, when did he receive orders from Halleck to place the 600, when they arrived, “between

Wagner and Gregg"? It is not likely that such an order could have reached him in four days, nor is any such order to be found in the War Records.

August 17, 1864, 600 Confederate prisoners in Fort Delaware were selected, as they were told by the Sergeant (Murphy) who waited on them and an officer from the Fort, for exchange. Five hundred and fifty of them were sound, and 50 were wounded. They went on board the *Crescent City* on the 20th.

On August 18 Foster wrote to Halleck: "The rebels are anxious to exchange. They say that their desire is that two old regular officers like Jones and myself may have charge of the matter, so that it may be fairly done without any political jars and interruptions"—referring perhaps to the importance of so managing the exchange business as to affect the result of the Presidential election which was to come off in less than three months—"Jones seems well disposed, so our released prisoners say. He sent an apology to Gen. Wells for placing the 600 officers under fire in Charleston. He stated that he did not place them there to be under fire, but that they were merely en route. The truth is that they are so short of men as guards that they have no place to put their prisoners in except Charleston and Savannah".

In the same letter Foster informed Halleck that as soon as the 600 "rebel officers" arrived he would place them "immediately on Morris Island between Wagner and Gregg". (Did Lincoln's government select 50 wounded and diseased prisoners to be exposed to the fire of the Confederate batteries?)

August 21, 1864, Gen. U. S. Grant sent this dispatch from City Point, Va., to Secretary Stanton, Washington: "Please inform Major-General Foster that in no circumstances will he be allowed to make exchange of prisoners of war. Exchanges simply re-enforce the enemy at once (sic), whilst we do not get the benefit of those received for two or three months and lose the majority entirely (sic). I telegraph this from just hearing 500 or 600 more prisoners had been sent to Major-General Foster".

August 26, Foster to Dahlgren: "Six hundred rebel officers arrived yesterday, to be placed under fire on Morris

Island. I propose to take them up to-morrow morning between daylight and 10 o'clock. As the steamer in which they are confined is very much crowded, I would respectfully request that you send one of your fleet with the prison ship as a convoy. It will be two or three days before the prisoners can be landed", &c.

August 30, 1864, Rear Admiral J. A. Dahlgren, Com. South Atlantic Block. Squadron, writes to Capt. J. F. Green, Senior Officer off Charleston, from Port Royal Harbor, S. C., informing him that "six hundred rebel officers" were being carried to Charleston, and enclosing the following extract from a letter he had received from Gen. J. G. Foster (Hilton Head), Maj. Gen. Com. Dept. South:

"I wish to have the steamer with the prisoners on board moored as near Fort Wagner as possible, so that she will be completely in range of the guns of that fort and your gun-boats". The boat was the "army transport Crescent".

On September 5 Foster ordered that shells be fired into the most populous portions of Charleston; and directed how it could be done.

On September 7 the 600 were placed in the stockade on Morris Island, exposed to the fire from Confederate guns in Fort Sumter and on Sullivan's Island; and Gen. Foster selected a negro regiment from Massachusetts, commanded by Col. Edward N. Hallowell, to guard the prisoners—an insult of which no British officer in the Revolution was ever guilty.

On September 10 General Jones wrote to Foster, informing him that he had heard about the exposure of the 600, and asking him "if they receive in all respects, save location, the treatment accorded to prisoners of war among civilized nations", and adding: "I make this inquiry because I believe you are retaliating on those officers for a supposed disregard of the usages of civilized warfare in the treatment extended to U. S. officers, prisoners of war, now in this city. Those officers are comfortably housed and receive the treatment due prisoners of war, and I will repeat what I have before had occasion to say to you, that I shall greatly deplore any necessity you may force on me to direct any change in their treatment. If by the 15th instant I receive no reply, I shall be

justified in the conclusion that my supposition is correct". To this letter there is no reply in the War Records.

September 17, 1864, Gen. Rufus Saxton sends a dispatch from Morris Island to Gen. Foster, informing him that "intelligent deserters" say that Federal shells are falling "in the most populous portion of the city".

September 17, 1864, the deserters mentioned above tell Saxton that the Andersonville prisoners are being moved to Charleston, and that 10,000 Federal prisoners are now in the city.

September 27, 1864, Gen. Saxton reports that there is a great deal of sickness among the Confederate prisoners, and he thinks it due to "a want of proper food".

October 4, 1864, Foster says he had not yet allowed "6 rebel officers" to take the oath of allegiance, although he had obtained permission from Washington to do so, his reason being: "They seem to be the most worthless and unreliable fellows in the whole lot".

October 4, 1864, Foster says some of the Confederate prisoners "are sickening on their scant fare, and one has died".

Oct. 4, 1864, while many Charlestonians are struggling to relieve the necessities of the Federal prisoners in Charleston, Foster reports that shells from Federal batteries reach "the whole upper part of the city".

October 4, 1864, Foster says he has "positive information" that many of the people of Charleston—whom he was shelling every day—exerted themselves every way to relieve the necessities of the Federal prisoners with food, clothing, &c.

October 13, 1864, Foster boasts that Federal shells are driving the people from the upper part of the city "to the burnt district".

October 13, 1864, Foster says yellow fever is on the increase in Charleston; and that the Federal prisoners have been moved to Columbia and other towns in the Northern part of the State; but that he is determined to keep "the rebel prisoners under fire".

October 20, 1864, Foster reports that he has removed "the rebel prisoners" to Fort Pulaski, Ga.

October 20, 1864, Foster, in the report referred to above, says he has forwarded another communication "full of par-

ticulars" about the 600 Confederate prisoners; but it is not in the War Records. Possibly it revealed so much brutality that even the Secretary of War was ashamed of it, and had it destroyed.

On October 21st the "rebel prisoners" were transferred to Fort Pulaski, Ga., and the 157th New York, commanded by Col. Philip P. Brown, jr., was sent as their guard.

On October 24th Gen. Foster wrote Col. Brown, complaining that he did not have three prisoners shot who attempted to escape by jumping overboard; but the letter does not appear in the War Records.

Thus the evidence is beyond dispute that there was no intention on the part of the Confederate authorities to mistreat the prisoners in their hands; that those who were sent to Charleston were sent because Gen. Sam. Jones had been led by Gen. Foster to believe that a general exchange could be effected. And all the circumstances, including the losing or suppression of letters and dispatches, if not interpolations and erasures after the war, make it clear that the wanton brutality of Mr. Lincoln's government was a pretended retaliation in order to arouse the North to greater exertions, or to affect the result of the Presidential election in the following November, about which Mr. Lincoln was extremely anxious.

NOTES OF MESSRS. HINES AND JOHNSTON.

The notes of Lieutenant John Charles Hines, 5th N. C. Cavalry, and of Lieutenant Seymour Anderson Johnston, 23 Va. Infantry, which they intend for their "grand children to read", have been very much condensed for lack of space; but I have preserved enough to make it clear that in this boasted age of Christian enlightenment and humanity there can be reproductions of the man (Julius Caesar) who, after defeating and scattering the male Usipites and Tenchtheri, sent his cavalry to butcher their women and children—nearly two thousand years ago; and that the treachery and perfidy which were supposed by Livy and other historians to blacken the character of Rome's Carthaginian enemies, are now regarded as exceptional virtues, entitling those who have been conspicuous in the display of them to select niches in Halls of Fame. Mr. Hines was captured on the 13th of September, 1863, at Jack's Shop (near Orange Court House, Va.);

and Mr. Johnston was captured at Spottsylvania Court House on the 12th of May, 1864, eight months after the capture of Mr. Hines.

Mr. Hines was first carried to Washington (Catholic) Hospital; then to Lincoln Hospital, where he resented the brutality of a wardmaster in kicking and beating a sick prisoner who refused to scour the floor; and, for this offense, he was transferred to Old Capital Prison, where he remained till January 12, 1864. Thence he was carried to Fort McHenry, where he spent thirteen days in a filthy and disgusting den. Then he was carried to Point Lookout, where he was kept about a month in a hospital. Then, his wounds having healed up, he was placed under negro guards in the stockade where about 40,000 Confederate soldiers were confined. There he sometimes saw the negroes fire their guns and wound or kill men who had committed no offense. After a while all the officers were sent from this place to Fort Delaware, from which the 600, including Messrs. Hines and Johnston, were selected to go to Charleston, the latter having spent some time at Point Lookout before he was transferred to Fort Delaware.

They left this place, August 18, 1864, on board the Crescent, which was 132 feet long and 32 feet wide, and the guard consisted of two companies of United States troops. The prisoners were confined to the forward part of the ship; and not more than fifty at a time were permitted on deck where they could get a breath of fresh air. Mr. Hines suffered beyond description, having to sleep near the boiler of the engine. "The sweltering heat of the hold", says Mr. Johnston, "cannot be described, and the excessive perspiration is beyond conception except by those who experienced it". "The ration", says Mr. Hines, "was a few hard tack and a small piece of raw pork; and the drinking water for the prisoners was such condensed steam as they could catch in their cups, which their thirst seldom permitted to cool".

They reached Charleston on August 29th; but the Cumming's Point stockade not being completed, they were transferred to an old filthy cattle boat about large enough for one-fourth of them. There the suffering was intense; "and one pint of hot water per day", says Mr. Johnston, "was all we

had". After spending 9 days in this prison boat, they were landed on Morris Island, "hardly any of them", says Mr. Hines, "being able to walk". Scurvy soon broke out among them, and many of them succumbed to its ravages.

The stockade to which they were carried was 150 feet from the water's edge, Battery Wagner, held by the Federals, being 200 yards to the rear, and in front were Fort Sumter, 800 yards off, and the Sullivan's Island guns, a mile away; hence all the shells from Confederate batteries aimed at Fort Wagner had to pass over the prisoners. The guards were negroes; and some of them, having run away from their South Carolina homes, were guarding their masters.

A day's ration was three hard tack and three ounces of bacon or pork, which, says Mr. Hines, "William F. Murphy would eat, and then cry"; and Mr. Hines says that the Colonel who commanded the negroes (Edward N. Hallowell, of Massachusetts) told the prisoners he "would take pleasure in reducing their rations to a greasy dish-rag, if it was in his power".

After spending 43 days on Morris Island the prisoners were transported to Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River. "Our guard here", says Mr. Johnston, "was 220 men, all that Early left of the 157th N. Y. in the battle of Gettysburg"; and the Colonel (Philip P. Brown, jr.) was, says Mr. Hines, "a gentleman". "He secretly furnished food to the sick and the starving". "The ration here", says Mr. Johnston, "was ten ounces of musty and wormy corn meal, taken from barrels which had been filled and kiln-dried in New York in 1861, as the marks on the barrels showed". And when sifted and cleaned, continues Mr. Johnston, "the ten ounces would not amount to more than six".

There was fearful mortality at Fort Pulaski, among the victims of this barbarism being Robert Bryan Carr, of Duplin County, N. C. From this pen the remnant of the 600 were returned to Fort Delaware, where they were confined for about two months after hostilities ceased.

CHAPTER XVII.

"GRANDLY LOYAL DEFENDERS OF THE REPUBLIC".

TWO CONTRASTS.

On June 30, 1775, Gov. Josiah Martin, of North Carolina, writing to the Earl of Dartmouth, said: "A most infamous report had been propagated among the people, that I had formed a design of arming the negroes, and proclaiming freedom to all such as should resort to the King's standard".

In 1863—88 years afterwards—Abraham Lincoln began the work of "proclaiming freedom, to the slaves and arming them; and exhibited his feelings towards their owners by preferring negro troops to guard them in his prisons.

Narrating events just before the battle of Trenton, Irving says of Washington:

"He calculated upon the eager support of his troops, who were burning to avenge the outrages on their homes and families, committed by these foreign mercenaries. They considered the Hessians mere hirelings; slaves to a petty despot, fighting for sordid pay, and actuated by no sentiment of patriotism or honor".

In 1862—86 years afterwards—Abraham Lincoln began to invite "foreign mercenaries", "actuated by no sentiment of patriotism or honor", to come over and assist him in the work of devastating the States of the Confederacy; and altogether he succeeded in hiring nearly 500,000 of them.

In the beginning of the struggle for the rights of the Southern Confederacy the leaders of the Northern people felt that they could soon conquer "the rebels". In Secretary Seward's dispatch to Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Lincoln's minister to England, dated May 21, 1861, he said, "Great Britain has but to wait a few months and all her present inconveniencies will cease with all our own troubles". Hence, when Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to suppress "the combination", the rush to the front was somewhat of a holiday excursion; but after the battle of Manassas, which proved that the war would be no picnic, the evident probability that more troops would be needed than unstimulated "patriotism" would send to the front, induced the Congress the day after the battle to pass an act offering a bounty of

\$100. But even this bid for enlistments failed to bring into the service the number of men called for; and drafting became necessary, although it is no uncommon thing to see in the books, magazines and newspapers of the Northern States that when "the old flag was fired on at Sumter the Nation flew to arms"—the people of the North, of course, being the "Nation".

It strikes us of to-day as inexplicable, that when "the life of the nation" was endangered, and the "rebels" struggling to cause "government of the people, and by the people and for the people to perish from the face of the earth" (as Mr. Lincoln charged in his famous Gettysburg speech), any able-bodied man in the North hesitated to offer his services for the subjugation of the "rebels". But, if we go back to the records and familiarize ourselves with what they reveal, our wonder will cease. We shall find a situation which I shall not attempt to describe, and of which I must beg my readers to be content with a few glimpses.

INTELLIGENT DEFENDERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

Less than a month before the inauguration of President Lincoln, and after the organization of the Confederate Government, John A. Logan, of Illinois, a member of Congress, delivered a scathing rebuke to the advocates of "coercion" in the House of Representatives, who had shown themselves unwilling to agree to any "concession or compromise", and ready to go to "war for the subjugation of these revolting States"; and in every Northern State there were staunch supporters of the political creed which Mr. Lincoln repudiated, many of them boldly criticizing his usurpations. But the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; the subjecting of the Northern States to the unrestricted domination of military officers; and the arrest and confinement in Fort Lafayette, by the middle of October, 1861, of one hundred and seventy-five of the most respectable citizens of the Northern States, warned the people that "the land of the free and the home of the brave" could no longer boast of its free speech and free press. And henceforth few voices were heard in the land except those of real or pretended coercionists. Even John A. Logan repudiated his convictions, became a coercionist, and enjoyed the glory of leading through the Carolinas that

famous 15th Corps which, as Gen. Sherman boasted to Gen. Halleck, "generally did their work up pretty well", the 4th Division having in it a band of marauders organized by General Corse.

THE BANKERS.

Like many others of the most intelligent people in the Northern section, the bankers seem to have felt little desire to make sacrifices for the subjugation of the Confederacy. They refused any voluntary contributions to the military chest; they suspended specie payments in December, 1861; and during the whole period of war-bond sales the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled to accept 66 cents for each dollar, the treasury receipts being \$1,371,424 and the face of the bonds being \$2,049,975,700. This was the average price during the war.

RESPECTABLE CLASSES.

While in the ranks of the armies of the Confederacy there were college professors, physicians, merchants, lawyers, farmers, and business men of every calling, there seems to have been a general desire on the part of such persons in the North to avoid service in "preserving the life of the nation". Refusing to volunteer at any one of Mr. Lincoln's ten calls, and having the privilege when drafted to be excused on the payment of \$300, commutation money, 86,724 of these gentlemen purchased the privilege of staying home; while other thousands, not reported, hired substitutes, as the campaign song said Mr. Blaine did

"Ven he hear dem rebels shoot".

In addition, too, to this vast army of exempts, other thousands secured the privilege of avoiding service by inducing their State Legislatures or their city councils or their township officials to offer bounties to foreigners, to Confederate starving prisoners, to Southern renegades and to Southern negroes; and to hire agents as recruiting officers. But this is not all; their opposition to military service induced the administration in May, 1862, to have passed in Congress an act offering free homesteads to all foreigners—not even the

anarchist excepted—who would come to the “asylum of the oppressed of all nations”, as we read in the platform of the convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln for re-election. And the result was that the free homestead and the bounty, amounting in some States to \$600, brought into the service some thousands of Southerners and negroes and a vast army of foreigners. The number of these last is usually estimated to have been 494,900; but these figures do not agree with what is a fair inference from the report made November 3, 1864, by Quartermaster-General Meigs. He stated that of 15,703 soldiers and other Federal employes who died in the hospitals in the vicinity of Washington during the three years ending August 1, 1864, only 4,910 were white natives of the United States, the Southern States included. It does not seem likely, therefore, that three-fourths of the Northern soldiers, as is usually claimed, were native white men, while only one-third of these deaths were of native whites.

Two or three reports, dispatches, &c., will be interesting.

Impositions on foreigners as they landed, and the disgraceful importunities of the recruiting agents induced the Congress on March 3, 1864, to appropriate \$40,000 to employ agents to protect immigrants on their way to the Western Territories.

Complaints having come across the ocean that Northern recruiting agents were in Europe plying their trade, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution on the 24th of June, 1864, requesting President Lincoln to inform that body “if any authority has been given any one, either in this country or elsewhere, to obtain recruits in Ireland or Canada”, &c.

On July 13, 1864, Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, informed Secretary Stanton that citizens of Massachusetts were recruiting a large number of aliens.

On July 14, 1864, the U. S. Congress passed an act authorizing the Governor of each State in the Union to send recruiting agents into any Confederate State, except Arkansas, Tennessee and Louisiana; and declaring that any volunteers these agents might enlist should be “credited to the State, and to the respective subdivisions thereof which might procure the enlistment”.

Thereupon agents were sent from all the New England

States, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—I cannot find in the records any other States named—into all the accessible parts of the Confederacy, New Hampshire’s agents, for an example, to receive \$20 for each one-year man enlisted, \$25 for each two-years’ enlistment, and \$40 for each three-years’ man; and these recruits to receive, respectively, \$100, \$200, and \$300, a proviso being added to her law that the Governor might, if he found it advisable, pay a bounty of \$500 for each three-years’ man enlisted in “the insurgent States”.

But, the “commercial spirit” not having yet taken possession of the South, Secretary Stanton said this in a report to President Lincoln, March 1, 1865: “The results of the recruitments under the act of July 4, 1864, for recruiting in rebel States, were reported as unfavorable”.

In September and October, 1864, 1,751 starving Confederate prisoners at Rock Island, Ill., hired themselves to Pennsylvania and Ohio, only 12 of them to the latter.

THE HUMOR OF THE SITUATION.

As might be expected from the revelations in previous chapters, this struggle for enlistments and substitutes has its humorous side, which is exposed to view in the following letters, dispatches, &c.:

On April 4, 1864, Gov. Horatio Seymour, of New York, complained because agents from other States were enlisting men from a New York corps, then at Rush Barracks, Washington, to fill the quotas of States they represented. “I learn”, he said, “that a large number have been thus enlisted for New Jersey, the agents paying from \$350 to \$375. Massachusetts, I am informed, has done the same, paying \$400 cash down”.

On August 9, 1864, Governor Yates, of Illinois, complained to Secretary Stanton that there were “numerous agents from New York and other States recruiting in Illinois for other States”.

On August 21, 1864, Gen. Grant’s dispatch to the Secretary of War, objecting to exchanges of prisoners, said: “Exchanges simply re-enforce the enemy at once, whilst we do not get the benefit of those received for two or three months, and lose the majority entirely”.

On August 28, 1864, Prov.-Mar. Gen. Fry telegraphed to his assistant in Boston: "Hon J. D. Baldwin writes me from Worcester that towns in his district enlist their own citizens, provide bounties for them, and send them to camp or rendezvous to be mustered in and credited. That after reaching rendezvous they are beset by recruiting agents for other places, especially Boston. These agents, offering higher local bounties, succeed in getting the men credited to other towns", &c.

On September 5, 1864, L. Thomas, Adjutant-General, writing from Vicksburg, Miss., informed Secretary Stanton that a Colonel of one of the negro regiments at Natchez "stated that in consequence of the presence of agents from Northern States offering large bounties for recruits his men were deserting, procuring citizens' clothing, and secreting themselves until an opportunity offered of escaping from the place for the purpose of enlisting. The same state of things," he continued, "exists in the other colored regiments. * * * Gen. Dana informed me that such was the desire to obtain recruits that diseased men, entirely unfit for the service, were taken and passed by the examining surgeon".

On January 19, 1865, the Actg. Asst. Prov.-Mar.-Gen., Concord, N. H., wrote to Prov.-Mar.-Gen. Fry, Washington, saying among other things: "I would respectfully call your attention to the fact that burglars, house-burners, and thieves, felons of all classes and kinds, are daily taken from jails and prisons with the consent of judges, both high and low, and enlisted under false names and false pretenses in the service of the U. S."

On January 30, 1865, 14 members of the Wisconsin legislature, complaining of certain irregularities, said that "a great number of men who were enrolled in 1863, and whose names had not been taken from the enrollment lists had enlisted in other States and in other districts in their own State, owing to larger bounties being offered by the richer and more prosperous communities in other districts".

On February 16, 1865, Prov.-Mar.-Gen. Fry sent a telegram to the Actg. Asst. Prov.-Mar.-Gen. in each of the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, complaining that "gross frauds" had been committed in all these States by forging certificates of enlistments in the U. S. navy so as to lessen the quota required for the army.

On March 2, 1865, O. Blount, Chairman, &c., New York City, reported to Asst. Adj.-Gen. Brownson as follows, Brownson having expressed great fears that enlistments were not fast enough to keep off the draft: "We commenced paying the increased bounty of \$600 for three years' men, \$400 for two years' men, and \$300 for one year's men on the 13th day of February. * * * From that date up to and including the 28th, being 14 days (exclusive of Sundays), we have paid the bounty to the very large number of 1,495 men. * * * Nearly all the men enlisted by us now are for three years' service".

BOUNTY JUMPERS.

A large portion of the men who enlisted in Mr. Lincoln's armies did so to get the bounty; and all through the war these fellows caused the administration a vast deal of trouble; and to deter men from this offense Fort Jefferson—named, for some inexplicable reason, for Thomas Jefferson—was erected on the Dry Tortugas, as a place for their confinement. But, as the records prove, the bounty-jumping continued. A man belonging to one command could change his appearance and his name, go into another county, city or State, and enlist. Even in the South we occasionally find one of these "patriots" who has two names, that on the pension rolls being different from the one by which he is called. The history of the military services of this class of criminals is exceedingly interesting; but for my purpose a few passages copied from Northern authors will suffice:

Some time in 1863 Gen. B. F. Butler, as appears in Rice's "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln", said to the President: "The bounties which are now being paid to new recruits cause very large desertions. Men desert and go home, and get the bounties and enlist in other regiments".

On May 20, 1864, Asst. Adj.-Gen. Townsend, Washington, D. C., issued a letter of instructions, as follows:

"I am directed to instruct you, in order to prevent desertions of recruits at rendezvous and while in transit to depots, that the payment of \$25 bounty immediately on enlistment"—the balance to be paid afterwards—"authorized by letter of instructions from this office, dated January 5, 1864, is hereby prohibited. Such payment will only be made to the recruit after he has been accepted at the depot".

On September 10, 1864, Gen. Grant, objecting to a postponement of the draft to allow time to fill up with recruiting, said that the men he had been getting by that method (recruiting) nearly all deserted, and out of five reported North as having enlisted he did not get more than one.

On July 29, 1864, the Adjutant-General of Indiana complained to the Adjutant-General U. S. Army, Louisville, Ky., that "the agents of substitute brokers from Erie, Pa., Buffalo, N. Y., and other places" were quietly at work in Louisville "enticing soldiers already in the service to doff their clothes and clothe themselves in citizens' dress and go East to enter as substitutes".

On March 11, 1865, Col. L. C. Baker, New York, reported to Prov.-Mar.-Gen. Fry as follows: "I made my contemplated raid on the bounty jumpers yesterday and succeeded in capturing 590 of the most desperate villians unhung. Most of them have enlisted and deserted from three to twenty times each".

FIERCE OPPOSITION.

During the entire war there was a considerable class in the States which remained in the Union whose opposition to assisting in the subjugation of the Confederacy, founded on sentiments of justice and humanity, stubbornly refused to respect Mr. Lincoln's calls for volunteers, as will appear from the following dispatches and reports:

On March 1, 1865, Secretary Stanton reported to the President that up to October 1, 1864, there had been arrested 60,760 deserters, a number that does not include those who changed their names and joined other commands to secure the bounty, nor those who fled to Canada and other foreign countries.

On July 14, 1864, the Governor of Ohio said in a letter to Secretary Stanton: "This feature of the draft has created great excitement and dissatisfaction in the State".

On August 5, 1864, "the Provost-Marshal of the Nineteenth District of New York" telegraphed to headquarters in Washington, asking: "What mode or means is there of preventing persons enrolled and liable to draft from leaving the district or State before being drafted? A stampede", he continued, "is going on that threatens to be serious unless checked".

On August 9, 1864, the Governor of Ohio, writing to Secretary Stanton, said: "Recruiting progresses slowly. There will be a heavy draft, and strong organizations are making to resist its enforcement. * * * Many regiments of the Guard are asking to have their time extended sixty to one hundred days. That, of course, is to jump the draft under the New York decision".

On August 18, 1864, Gen. Dix, New York, wrote to the Secretary of War about conditions in New York, saying: "I desire to refer to my letter of the 22d of July. Although there are no outward evidences of an intention to create disturbances when the approaching draft takes place, it is well known that there is a widespread feeling of hostility to the measures of the Government which is liable on the slightest pretext to break out into open violence.

On January 6, 1865, the Provost-Marshal of the Fourth District of Maine, writing to the Actg. Asst. Prov.-Mar.-Gen. of Maine (the first gentleman named Low and the second Littler), said:

"Allow me to call your attention to the north and eastern borders of this State, particularly that portion included in this district. We have some forty townships bordering on the British Provinces in which it is almost impossible to procure men by draft. In the draft under call of July 18, 1864, 357 men failed to report, and under the supplementary draft, same call, out of 350 men drafted about 60 were obtained. * * * In some cases quite extensive settlements have been made just across the line in the British Provinces, composed almost entirely of deserters".

On January 10, 1865, the Governor of Wisconsin, writing

Secretary Stanton, said: "Out of over 17,000 drafted in this State during the last year I am informed that but about 3,000 are in the service".

On July 20, 1864, the Provost-Marshal at Terre Haute, Ind., reporting to Prov.-Mar.-Gen. Fry, Washington, said: "A recent affair in Sullivan County between some butternuts and soldiers has greatly increased the excitement in that county. One of the former was killed and another wounded. * * The result is that there are large numbers of men riding about over the country armed, and some of them shouting for Vallandigham and Jeff. Davis, and professing to be in search of the soldiers. There have been more than 200 together at one time".

On Aug. 6, 1864, the Adj. Gen. of Illinois, writing to Prov.-Mar.-General, Washington, said: "I am instructed by Gov. Yates to respectfully inform you that disturbances of a serious character have broken out between loyal and disloyal citizens of Illinois residing or living in the counties of Fayette and Montgomery, and unless immediately checked by the military authorities of the government it is his opinion that civil war will soon be inaugurated".

On Aug. 10, 1864, Richard I. Dodge, Actg. Asst.-Prov.-Mar.-General, writing from Harrisburg, Penn., to Prov.-Mar.-Gen. Fry, Washington, said:

"In several counties of the Western Division of Pennsylvania, particularly in Columbia and Cambria, I am credibly informed that there are large bands of deserters and delinquent drafted men, banded together, armed, and organized for resistance to the U. S. authorities. This organization in Columbia County alone numbers about 500 men; in Cambria it is said to be larger. These men are encouraged in their course and assisted by every means by the political opponents of the administration. * * The Union men are overawed by the organization, while many who have heretofore been supporters of the policy of the government, preferring their comfort to their principles, are going over to its enemies".

In reply to this dispatch Gen. Fry informed Capt. Dodge, Aug. 16, that the Sixteenth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps had been ordered to report for duty to Capt. Dodge.

On Aug. 9, 1864, Gen. Heintzelman wrote from Columbus,

Ohio, to Gen. Halleck, Chief of Staff, Washington: "I consulted with Gov. Brough. * * * I have from him and from other sources undoubted information that there will be in some counties in this State resistance to the draft. I have also information of combinations, the leaders of which are in this city, with the object of seizing the Government and State arsenals and releasing the rebel prisoners at Camp Chase".

On August 12, 1864, Gen. Halleck, Washington, wrote to Gen. Grant, City Point:

"I have just received Gen. Heintzelman's report on Gen. Burbridge's telegram in regard to arresting certain persons in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. He does not deem it prudent to make arrests at the present time, as a rescue would probably be attempted, and his force is not sufficient to put down an insurrection. He thinks there will be a forcible resistance to the draft, and greatly fears disturbances before that time. He does not deem the prisoners of war as secure, and thinks a combination has been formed to release them and seize the arsenals. To provide against this he wants 10,000 in each of the States of Indiana and Illinois and 5,000 in Ohio. * * *

"Gen. Carlton reports that his California volunteers will not re-enlist".

On Sept. 13, 1864, James G. Jones, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal-General, writing from Indianapolis to Provost-Marshal-General Fry, Washington, D. C., about the approaching draft in Indiana, said:

"Prudence absolutely demands that at least 4,000 soldiers, uniformed, armed, and equipped, be in the State to execute the draft and keep the peace, 1,000 on regular duty at headquarters of eleven provosts-marshal serving notices in disaffected neighborhoods, and guarding men en route to draft headquarters, and 3,000 distributed at proper points to suppress incipient revolt if possible, or accomplished insurrection if need be. In portions of every district notices of draft can only be served by detachments of armed men".

It appears, therefore, to be beyond a reasonable doubt that comparatively few men enlisted in the armies of the North impelled by the motives which Northern writers claim for

all of them*; and when we add to all this the significance of the forty years' scramble for pensions, the thirty or forty years' labors of the Congress in effacing from the public records the convictions for desertion, and the laws and executive orders which open the doors of the people's treasury—the South's as well as the North's—to the bounty-jumpers, the deserters, and other lawless classes, the motives and purposes of the men who overwhelmed the Confederacy will hardly escape the searching eye of the unbiased and uninterested future. And to the student of the laws of heredity and of the contagious tendencies of examples, the conclusion from the foregoing evidences may be corroborated by present conditions in this year of grace 1906, as characterized by the *New York Post*:

"The present is a period of havoc and upheaval. The gale of reform that rages o'er the land lays bare most hideous conditions. A dollarized society, insensible to all but pricking selfishness, makes possible corruption high and low. Bribe, graft, knavery, exploitation, investigation, disclosure, confusion, shame—in all the avenues of activity the public ferret is at work".

Now, in conclusion, and for the purpose of giving future readers an opportunity to judge fairly whether my estimate of the Northern soldier is just, I quote the answer made to President Lincoln by Gen. Daniel Tyler, of Connecticut, when asked what he, as a member of the Buell Court of Inquiry, had found: "We had it proven that Bragg, with less than ten thousand men, drove your eighty-three thousand under Buell back from before Chattanooga, down to the Ohio at Louisville, marched round us twice, then doubled us up at Peryville, and finally got out of Kentucky with all his plunder".—Rice's "Reminiscences".

* The late Jerry Simpson, of Kansas, who served with me in the 52nd and 53rd Congress, was perhaps as honorable as any of them. A gentleman who had some business with him came by my residence one evening after my son, who was my clerk, to go with him. When they returned, they were giving me their impressions of that somewhat remarkable man, and repeating some things he said. One was: "I was a sailor on the Lakes. Soon after the war commenced, I was in Chicago out of a job. I was offered big pay and a big bounty to go into the army. D——d if I knew what the fight was about, but I went".

CHAPTER XVIII.

FALSE PRETENSES AND DECEPTION.

To give my readers an insight into the moral code of some of the reformers who thought it their duty to guide the South into ways of rectitude, I have gathered up from various sources trustworthy records of their regard for truth and honesty. I could add much more, but here is enough for my purpose.

After having for years been promulgating the doctrine that "the nation" could not endure half free and half slave, William H. Seward delivered "a great electioneering speech in the Senate", according to Cassius M. Clay, while seeking the nomination which went to Lincoln in 1860, in which he said: "I am for the Union, with or without slavery".

On page 205, vol. I, of the "Rise and Fall", &c., the author said: "If any, judging after the event, should assume that I was allured by the high office subsequently conferred upon me by the people of the Confederate States, the answer to any such conclusion has been made by others, to whom it was well known, before the Confederacy was formed, that I had no desire to be its President. When the suggestion was made to me, I expressed a decided objection, and gave reasons of a public and permanent character against being placed in that position".

But William H. Seward, afterwards Secretary of State, explained and justified one of his misstatements by declaring that he and Mr. Davis both knew two months before the Confederacy was organized that "Jeff Davis" was to be its President. The circumstances were these: After the election of 1860, and before the electoral votes were counted, he made his famous "Astor House speech", which was so false in all its utterances that Mr. Oakey Hall declared that Seward was "the most august liar in the United States"; and the latter "at a dinner at Willard's Hotel" said that his lies were intended to deceive Mr. Davis, who was to be President, &c.

Eight days after the inauguration of President Lincoln there was an effort made by Confederate Commissioners to establish friendly relations with the United States and to

effect an equitable settlement of all questions relating to the common property of the States, the public debt, &c. They sent a note to Secretary Seward, informing him of the object of their mission to Washington, and asking for an interview. He made no formal answer, but he authorized Justices Nelson (New York) and Campbell (Alabama) of the Supreme Court of the United States, who had tendered their friendly offices to these Commissioners, to assure these gentlemen that Fort Sumter would be evacuated. And at the very time when this promise was made Mr. G. V. Fox, who was afterwards Assistant Secretary of the United States Navy, was on his way to Charleston, having been sent by President Lincoln, to devise plans for strengthening Fort Sumter. But on April 1, the Confederate Commissioners, having received no written reply to their note, and being alarmed by the reports in the newspapers insisted, through Judge Campbell, on definite information as to the purposes of the administration; and Mr. Seward wrote to Judge Campbell: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept. Wait and see", thus keeping himself in practice as an "august liar".

In Bancroft's *Life of William H. Seward* this occurs on page 319:

"The routed and frightened troops from the first battle of Bull Run had hardly reached Washington when Crittenden, whose devotion to the Union depended on no if, brought forward a resolution declaring that the war was not for conquest or to interfere with the rights or established institutions of the Southern States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired. * * * Almost immediately and with close approach to unanimity the members of the House and of the Senate pledged themselves to these declarations".

But, "in the next few weeks", he continues, "was passed"—by these same statesmen—"the first of the measures providing for the confiscation of all property, including slaves, used in support of the 'insurrection'".

There is abundant evidence in Charles Robinson's *Kansas Conflict*, Rev. Theodore Parker's *Journal*, and elsewhere, that "Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, and J. Lowell,

of Boston, * * * merchant princes", and S. Cabot, Jr., L. B. Russell, C. J. Higgins, and W. B. Spooner were members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and devoted much time and money to furnishing men, guns and ammunition for the Kansas war against Southerners. But the records of the 34th Congress (first session) show that Mr. Lawrence deposed before an investigating committee that no firearms were ever bought by the Emigrant Aid Company, and that the Company had never interfered with the internal affairs of the Territory; and the other gentlemen, excepting J. Lowell, sent a paper to Congress in which they asserted that the Company had "never invested a dollar in any of the implements of war".

Such mendacity was the only hopeful shield of these gentlemen when they saw themselves in danger of conviction of treason against the United States—an offense which some of them at first warmly approved, as we may gather from this passage in the Journal of Theodore Parker:

"Saw the Kansas party go off (April 2, 1854) * * * about forty, nearly half women and children. There were twenty Sharp's Rights (rifles) of the People in their hands, of the new and improved edition, and divers Colt's six-shooters also. * * Those rifles and pistols were to defend their soil from the American Government, which wishes to plant slavery in Kansas".

And yet a Massachusetts member of Congress, with all the evidence before him, or in easy reach, said this on the floor of the House of Representatives on the 12th of March, 1856; "Allow me to say that there never has been purchased by the emigrant aid society a single musket or rifle, or arm of defense of any kind whatever"; and Henry Wilson, one of the Massachusetts Senators, addressing the Senate on the 18th of the preceding month, made a more sweeping denial of the charges which the evidence proved to be true, declaring that Lawrence and his partners had not "performed illegal actions or any act inconsistent with the obligations of patriotism, morality or religion".

Another distinguished leader of the abolitionists, who was devoid either of a conscience or a memory was Dr. Charles Robinson, a native of Hardwick, Massachusetts, who was the

first governor of the State of Kansas. In Eli Thayer's Kansas Crusade and in the New International Encyclopedia there is satisfactory evidence that he either belonged to or was in sympathy with Thayer's Emigrant Aid Company in the early months of 1854. This company was organized before the 31st of May, the day on which President Pierce approved the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and in one of its early meetings, Thayer says, Robinson was engaged to act as agent of the company, promising to start to Kansas on the 28th of June. But when Dr. Robinson found himself before a Congressional Committee which was inquiring into the treasonable operations of the abolitionists, he made this statement: "I left Massachusetts for Kansas in June, 1854. * * At that time no Emigrant Aid Society with which I have since been connected, was in existence, and, consequently I could not act as agent of such a society. My first connection with an emigrant aid society, as official agent, was some time in September, 1854".

It seems, therefore, that most of the famous philanthropists who were engaged in the work of defending the soil of Kansas "from the American Government" conscientiously believed that perjury was a legitimate weapon in their hands.

CHAPTER XIX.

SUBJUGATION OF NORTHERN STATES.

As Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency by only 39 per cent. of the popular vote, he could have no reason to expect that his war on the Confederacy would be approved by a majority of the people of the Northern States; and, although his call for 75,000 militiamen to recover a piece of property which he said the "rebels" had taken from "the Government" aroused some sympathy in many quarters of the North, and made his cause appear for the moment to be the cause of all, there was such opposition to him manifested in a few weeks that he found it a "military necessity" to subject the Northern States to martial law.

Here are some of the recorded evidences of this opposition:

On May 21, 1861, Secretary Seward, writing to Minister Adams, who succeeded George M. Dallas, President Buchanan's representative in London, said: "It is due to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated".

On Dec. 31, 1861, the commanding officer at Fort Lafayette read to the political prisoners an order from Secretary Seward, which informed these gentlemen, that Seward would not recognize any person as an attorney for one of the prisoners; and that the employment of an attorney by a prisoner would be an offense for which his term of confinement might be lengthened.

At the November, 1862, elections the friends of Mr. Lincoln's administration were decisively defeated; and on the 22nd of that month an order was issued to release all the gentlemen whom Secretary Seward had imprisoned.

In December, 1862, according to Rice, President Lincoln said this to Thurlow Weed:

"Everything goes wrong. The rebel armies hold their own; Grant is wandering around in Mississippi; Burnside manages to keep ahead of Lee; Seymour has carried New York, and, if his party carries and holds many of the Northern States, we shall have to give up the fight, for we can

never conquer three-quarters of our countrymen, scattered in front, flank, and rear”.

On Mar. 3, 1863, an act was approved by President Lincoln which denied to any person whom Mr. Seward had arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned any redress in State or Federal courts.

On Sept. 15, 1863, President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus throughout the United States, and thus rid his administration of any judicial interference with its usurpations.

In Aug., 1863, Secretary Stanton placed under the orders of Gen. Dix, New York City, for the purpose of subjugating that city, a military force amounting to forty-two regiments and two batteries.

CHAPTER XX.

“Government of the People, by the People, for the People, shall not perish from the earth”.—President Lincoln at Gettysburg.

There is an abundance of evidence in the War Records and in other works that Mr. Lincoln so interfered with the election in November, 1864, as to secure his own re-election; and it would very much interest my readers to have placed before them the letters and dispatches of all the parties who participated in this conspiracy against a “free ballot and a fair count”, and thus sowed the seeds of that political corruption which has disgraced many of the cities and towns in the Northern States; but lack of space forbids extended quotations, and my readers must be contented with the manipulations in only a few States. I begin with Pennsylvania. There is not a dispatch or an order in the War Records; the tools of despotism arranged their plans behind doors, and carried orders “unofficially” to their co-conspirators; but, fortunately, enough has been preserved for my purpose in the “Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln”. In his Introduction Allen Thorndike Rice gives us the following:

“During the fall of 1864 it became evident that Pennsylvania was a ‘doubtful State’. Gen. McClellan, the candidate of the Democratic party, was not only popular there as a native Pennsylvanian, but, even among those loyal to the administration, he had a strong following and great sympathy, from the belief that he had been a much abused man. Lincoln was advised by the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania that the prospect was very uncertain. It was felt that, on the result in the Keystone State, hinged the fate of the national election. A gentleman belonging to the Republican Committee, then, as now, one of the leading politicians of the State, had a consultation with the President on the situation. He thus relates the interview:

‘Mr. President,’ I said, ‘the only sure way to organize victory in this contest, is to have some fifteen thousand, or more, Pennsylvania soldiers furloughed and sent home to vote. While their votes in the field would count man for man, their presence at the polls at home would exert an influ-

ence not easily to be estimated, by exciting enthusiasm and building up party morals. I would advise you to send a private message to Gen. Grant, to be given in an unofficial way, asking for such an issuance of furloughs to Pennsylvania soldiers in the field'.

"Lincoln was silent for some moments and seemed to be pondering. Then he answered:

'I have never had any intimation from Gen. Grant as to his feelings for me. I don't know how far he would be disposed to be my friend in the matter, nor do I think it would be safe to trust him'.

"The President's interlocutor responded with some heat, 'And do you mean to say that the man at whose back you stood, in defiance of the clamor of the country, for whom you fought through thick and thin, would not stand by you now?'

'I don't know that Gen. Grant would be my friend in this matter', reiterated the President.

'Then, let it be done through Gen. Meade, the direct commander of the Army of the Potomac—and Gen. Sheridan, how about him?'

"At this question, Lincoln's face grew sunny and bright. 'I can trust Phil', he said; 'he's all right!'

"As a result of this conference, one of the assistant secretaries of war was sent to Petersburg with a strictly unofficial message to Gen. Meade, and another agent was deputed to visit Gen. Sheridan. Some 10,000 or more Pennsylvania soldiers went home to vote when the time came, and Pennsylvania was carried by a handsome majority for the administration".

As to the work of these friends of "free government" in other States a few dispatches escaped detection when they purged the public records, even all the congratulatory letters having been destroyed. Here are some of the most interesting:

On Oct. 28. 1864, Gen. Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo., was ordered by Secretary Stanton to furlough until Nov. 10 the following troops, to enable them to vote at their homes: The 49th, the 117th, the 119th, and the 58th regiments of Illinois volunteers; and at the same time orders were sent to Gen. Thomas, Nashville, Tenn.; Gen. Burbidge, Louisville, Ky.; and Gen. Washburn, Memphis, Tenn., to furlough till Nov.

10, and "send home" any troops that could be spared from their commands.

In October, 1864, preparatory to the subversion of the rights of the people of New York to a free ballot and a fair count at the election which was to take place on the 8th of November, Gen. Dix, the commander of the department, issued a proclamation, warning Mr. Lincoln and the republican party of the horrible designs of Confederate agents in Canada, who, he declared, were planning to invade New York with voters so as to insure the electoral vote of that State for Gen. McClellan.

Thereupon Mr. Lincoln had Major General Butler sent to take command of the military forces in the city, and 7,000 additional men were placed in the forts of the harbor, Gen. Butler being confidently relied on to insure the election of the republican electors and the republican candidate (Reuben E. Fenton) for Governor, and thus perpetuate the domination of the political party which favored "government of the people, and by the people, and for the people".

On Oct. 29, 1864, Gen. John A. Green, Syracuse, N. Y., being in command of the State forces which had been ordered to guard the northern border of the State—including eight counties—"against any hostile invasion" of the State, complained in General Orders that "a major-general holding his commission under the Federal government" was proposing to "take under his supervision" the approaching election "within the said district"; and he added: "The Federal Government is charged with no duty or responsibility whatever relating to an election to be held in the State of New York".

To all this it is fortunate that I can add the following incident which I found in Rice's "Reminiscences", in the article written by E. W. Andrews, who belonged to the Adj.-General's Department of the Army:

"I was still on duty in the defenses of Baltimore when the Presidential campaign of 1864 occurred. I had been a life-long Democrat, and I favored the election of Gen. McClellan, the candidate of my party. One evening in September, 1864, I was invited by a few friends to go with them to a Democratic meeting, and listen to a distinguished orator who was to advocate the claims of McClellan. As I could

not well refuse, I agreed to go for a few minutes only. To my surprise and annoyance, I was called on by the audience for a speech, and the calls were so persistent that I was placed in a most embarrassing position. Forced to say something, I contented my self with a brief expression of my high regard for McClellan as a soldier, and a statement of my intention to vote for him. I made no reference to Mr. Lincoln, and soon left the hall.

"Next day an order came from Secretary Stanton directing me to be mustered out of the service. No reason was assigned, nor opportunity given for defense".

But a more interesting exhibition of tyranny is revealed in the message of Kentucky's Union Governor to the legislature in January, 1865. By military interference in 1863 he had been elected Governor, the vote of the State, on account of the faithful labors of those sent "to keep peace at the polls", being 60,000 less than it was in 1860.

Complaining of Federal interference in the election of 1864, he said:

"The gravest matter of military outrage has been, and yet is, the arrest, imprisonment, and banishment of loyal citizens without a hearing, and without even a knowledge of the charges against them. There have been a number of this class of arrests, merely for partisan political vengeance, and to force them to pay heavy sums to purchase their liberation.

* * * For partisan political ends, Gen. John B. Huston was arrested at midnight preceding the election. * * The battle-scarred veteran Col. Frank Wolford, whose name and loyal fame are part of his country's proudest memories, and whose arrest for political vengeance should put a nation's cheek to blush, is yet held in durance vile, without a hearing and without an accusation. * *

"Lieut.-Gov. Jacobs, whose yet unclosed wounds were received in battle for his country, was made a victim to partisan and personal enmity," &c., &c.

There is, therefore, no reason to be surprised at the following postscript to a letter written from Syracuse, N. Y., to Secretary Seward, six days before the election, by J. N. Holmes:

"There is great reason to fear that President Lincoln will be assassinated very soon".

CHAPTER XXI.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A CONTRAST.

"Hence it appears that, except as to the concurrent authority of the president in the article of treaties, it would be difficult to determine whether that magistrate would, in the aggregate, possess more or less power than the governor of New York".—Alexander Hamilton in No. LXIX of the *Federalist*.

"Even as President of the United States, at a period when the nation's peril invested the holder of the office with almost despotic power, there seems to have been in Lincoln's nature * * * * *

"Wielding the power of a king", &c.—Allen Thorndike Rice in "*Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*".

The story of the war between the sections would be incomprehensible in its tracings of results to causes if the inherited disposition and characteristics of Abraham Lincoln were left out, just as the lessons of all history would lose much of their power to guide us and warn us if the personality of the great actors were kept out of view. It is the man that gives its chief value to the picture—the Alexander, the Julius Caesar, the Cromwell, the Alva, the Pizarro, the Napoleon. Fortunately, many biographies of Lincoln have been written, and hardly any phase of his life, character or disposition has been left untouched by the writers; but, unfortunately, it has been the almost invariable custom to give a partial view of the man, to magnify everything that would exalt him in the eyes of coming generations and minimize or hide from view his infirmities. But enough has been preserved for my purpose.

There are two methods by which a man can become the idol of his people. One is by enabling his own community to acquire riches by levying tribute on other communities, as Hamilton did when he succeeded in what all authors call his "grand financial achievements", i. e., his enrichment of New England and some of the Middle States at the expense

of the other States. This "achievement" exalted him, when he fell in his duel with Burr, to companionship with impossible saints, and sent Burr down among impossible demons.

The other is by successfully conducting a war, a campaign, a battle, or a siege, as was done by Cromwell in England. Washington in America, Wellington at Waterloo, Jackson at New Orleans, and Houston at San Jacinto. Both of these methods fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln: he was credited with successfully waging the most gigantic war of the ages; and, as a result of that war, he conferred upon the Northern States the power to exact from the Southern people, during the last forty-one years, an annual per capita contribution of about \$2.90 for pensions and war-bonds, and perhaps as much, if not more, to insure "prosperity" to Northern manufacturers, ship-owners, &c.—a burden without a parallel in the records of the human race.

Hence, when he fell by the hand of an assassin, his twofold claim to the homage of his people invested him with virtues whose number and brilliance baffle the conception of the most vivid imagination.

Abraham Lincoln's ancestors came from England about 1638, and settled in Massachusetts; and no doubt brought with them the characteristic Puritan antipathies which have been considered in a previous chapter. In 1782, his grandparents, who had been living in Virginia, moved to Kentucky, where their son, Thomas L. Lincoln, the father of Abraham, lived till 1816. He then moved to Indiana, Abraham being seven years old, and lived in "a rude log cabin". The family lived a "poor, laborious life", their son "receiving only about a year of the rudest school education". In 1825 he managed a ferry across the Ohio; in 1828 he took a flat-boat with produce to New Orleans; and in 1830 the family moved to Illinois.

Mr. Lincoln, himself, in explaining to Mr. Seward how he made his first dollar ("Reminiscences", p. 279), said: "I was about eighteen years of age, and belonged, as you know, to what they call down South the 'Scrubs'; people who do not own land and slaves are nobody there", &c., Mr. Seward understanding, of course, that a man who owned no slaves owned no land.

If, now, we adopt that law of cause and effect which is claimed to dominate through the generations of sentient beings, admit the probability of an inherited antipathy to the Cavalier, and admit the naturalness of his resentment towards those in a "slave State" who denied his family social equality, we may not wander far from the truth in attempting to deal justly with the conduct of President Lincoln. Indeed, if we were wiser, if we could intelligently trace his ancestors down the ages, we might discover that he was evolved from forces which were at work as far back at least as the landing of Julius Caesar on the coast of Britain.

In Rice's *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln* there is a sketch written by Gen. Donn Piatt, an Ohioan, who served in the United States Army during the war, and from it I quote a few extracts:

"Great men have enemies while alive, and friends when dead; and, between the two, the objects of hate and love pass into historical phantoms far more unreal than their ghosts are supposed to be. With us, when a leader dies, all good men go to lying about him, and from the monument that covers his remains to the last echo of the rural press, in speeches, sermons, eulogies and reminiscences, we have naught but pious lies. There is no tyranny so despotic as that of public opinion among a free people. The rule of the majority is to the last extent exacting and brutal. When brought to bear on our eminent men, it is also senseless. Poor Garfield, with his sensitive temperament, was almost driven to suicide while alive. He fell by the shot of an assassin, and passed in an instant to the roll of popular saints. * * * * *

"As a pleasant fiction is more acceptable than a naked fact, and as the historian shapes his wares, like any other dealer, to suit his customers, one can readily see that our chronicles are only a duller sort of fiction than the popular novels so eagerly read; not that they are true, but that they deal in what we love to have—the truth. Thus Washington is deified into an impossible man, and Aaron Burr has passed into a like impossible human monster. Through the same process Abraham Lincoln * * * has almost gone from human knowledge. I hear of him, read of him in eulogies and biographies, and fail to recognize the man I encountered, for the

first time, in the canvass that called him from private life to be President. * * *

"I soon discovered that this strange and strangely gifted man, while not at all cynical, was a sceptic. His view of human nature was low. This low estimate of humanity blinded him to the South. He could not understand that men would get up in their wrath and fight for an idea. * * * 'They won't give up the offices'; I remember he said; 'were it believed that vacant places could be had at the North Pole, the road there would be lined with dead Virginians'. He unconsciously accepted, for himself and party, the same low line that he awarded the South.

* * * "Descended from the poor whites of a slave State, through many generations, he inherited the contempt, if not the hatred, held by that class for the negro. A self-made man, with scarcely a winter's schooling from books, his strong nature was built on what he inherited, and he could no more feel a sympathy for that wretched race than he could for the horse he worked or the hog he killed. In this he exhibited the marked trait that governed his public life. He never rose above the mass he influenced. * * He knew, and saw clearly, that the people of the free States had, not only, no sympathy with the abolition of slavery, but held fanatics, as Abolitionists were called, in utter abhorrence. While it seemed a cheap philanthropy, and therefore popular, to free another man's slave, the fact was that it was not another man's slave. The unrequited toil of the slave was more valuable to the North than to the South. With our keen business instincts, we of the free States utilized the brutal work of the masters. They made, without saving, all that we accumulated. * * Wendell Phillips, the silver-tongued advocate of human rights, was, while Mr. Lincoln talked to us, being ostracised at Boston and rotten-egged at Cincinnati. A keen knowledge of human nature in a jury, more than a knowledge of law, in his case, had put our President-elect at the head of his profession. * * He had little taste for and less knowledge of, literature. * * We are quick to forget the facts and slow to recognize the truths that knock from us our pretentious claims to a high philanthropy. * * The minority that elected Mr. Lincoln, * * while pledg-

ing itself, in platforms and speeches, to a solemn resolve to keep slavery under the Constitution in the States, restricted its anti-slavery purpose to the prevention of its spread into the Territories. I remember when the Hutchinsons were driven from the camps of the Potomac Army by the soldiers for singing their abolition songs, and I remember well that for two years nearly of our service as soldiers we were engaged in returning slaves to their masters, when the poor creatures sought shelter in our lines".

Turning now from Gen. Piatt, let us see what is said about Mr. Lincoln by other Northern writers:

In "Herndon's Lincoln", vol. I, page 3, we are told that Mr. Lincoln, being ashamed of his "poor white" origin, declared to Herndon that his mother was the daughter of a "well-bred Virginia farmer", although she was born three years after the marriage of her parents.

Mr. Lincoln asked a Miss Owens to marry him; but she refused. Afterwards he wrote a letter to a Mrs. Browning, in which he referred to Miss Owens in terms which Morse's Lincoln calls "most abominable"; and Lamon (Lincoln, p. 181) speaks of "its coarse exaggeration in describing a person whom the writer was willing to marry, its imputation of toothless and weather-beaten old age to a woman young and handsome".

About the time when Mr. Lincoln was "smuggled through Baltimore by night to avoid assassination", as Ben. Perley Poore informs us in Rice's "Reminiscences", Edwin M. Stanton, who became Secretary of War in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, was indulging in "tirades against Mr. Lincoln, saying on one occasion he 'had met him at the bar, and found him a low, cunning clown'."

Mr. Lincoln wrote an essay against the inspiration of the Bible and the divinity of Christ, and a friend of his burnt it without his consent. Hence the pious utterances in his farewell address to Springfield (Holland's Lincoln, p. 241) were "regarded by many as an evidence of his weakness and of his hypocrisy". And the pious words with which he closed his so-called Emancipation Proclamation were added by Secretary Chase (Hapgood's Lincoln, pp. 291 et seq.).

Mr. Lincoln's vulgarity disgusted all refined persons who

came in contact with him. Holland says (p. 251): "Men who knew him throughout his political and professional life * * * have said that he was the foulest in his jests and stories of any man in the country"; and Lamon says he "was restrained by no presence and no occasion". Even the battlefield of Gettysburg "was shamed with a ribald song", says Gen. Piatt ("Reminiscences", &c., p. 486), which Lincoln called for when he delivered his famous speech.

In volume II, p. 182, of his *History of the United States*, Percy Greg (an Englishman) says this:

"Mr. Lincoln's virtual declaration of war and blockade was coupled with two acts which cast a glaring light on the often-vaunted humanity of the North, and the personal tenderness of nature and freedom from vindictive passion ascribed to the President. The latter ordered that Confederate commissions or letters-of-marque granted to private or public ships should be disregarded, and their crews treated as pirates. He also declared medicines of all kinds contraband of war. Both acts violated every rule of civilized war, and outraged the conscience of Christendom".

After Gen. Sherman had reported that he had devastated a strip of Georgia 2,465 square miles larger than the State of Vermont, destroying 14,070 bales of cotton, 13,400 bushels of corn, 80 tons of fodder, 50 barrels of molasses, 25 barrels of salt, 36 grist mills, 27 saw mills, 271 cotton gins, besides quantities of rice, wagons, carts, tools, &c., Mr. Lincoln wrote him: "Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army, officers and men".—*War Records*, Series I, vol. XLIV, p. 809.

Laboring to justify Mr. Lincoln's disregard of his official oath to support the Constitution, Allen Thorndike Rice says:

"In the better sense, Lincoln was, perhaps, something of a casuist in believing that the end justifies the means".

Brushing away, then, all the myths which during forty years have kept before the eyes of the people an "impossible" Lincoln; remembering that the means of an ennobling and refining culture were denied him in his youth; supposing that his determination to "save" by force a voluntary union of sovereign communities was due to his ignorance of the history of the American Colonies and of the terms of their com-

pacts as Colonies and as States; knowing that it was impossible for him to understand and appreciate the people of the South, who, Burke said, were "much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward", and of whom Mr. Lincoln's estimate was "low"; remembering that in his first inaugural address he justified secession "if by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right"; and believing that at first he yielded to the advice of a wily politician in the State Department, who did not hesitate to resort to deception whenever it would further his schemes, the future student, whose vision may be clearer than ours, may conclude that Abraham Lincoln blundered into a war with the Southern Confederacy.

CHAPTER XXII.

"THIS LOW ESTIMATE OF HUMANITY BLINDED HIM TO THE SOUTH".

Gen. Donn Piatt has told us that Mr. Lincoln's estimate of Southerners was "low", that he could not grasp the thought that a Southern man "would get up in his wrath and fight for an idea", and that it was inconceivable to him that the armies of the Confederacy would surrender only after being annihilated. Hence we can easily understand the following acts and utterances:

1. He believed that Southern dissatisfaction with the success of his faction was due to that disgraceful grasping for official positions which distinguished his own party. Gen. Piatt gives this reason why Mr. Lincoln did not call Gen. Robert E. Schenk to his Cabinet, as he probably intended to do: "I am still of this opinion, and attribute the change to certain low intrigues hatched at Chicago by the newly created politicians of that locality, who saw in the coming administration opportunities for plunder that Robert E. Schenk's known probity would have blasted".

2. On December 8, 1863, he issued a proclamation informing the people of the Confederacy that if one-tenth of the voters in any State would take an oath to support him and his party in all that they had done or might do, these voters could organize a State government inside of their respective States, and he would "recognize" it.

3. In that same proclamation he appealed to Southerners who were guilty of "treason", and who merited punishment for that awful crime, to cease to do evil, to take an oath to approve all his acts and support his administration in everything it might do, promising them full pardon and forgiveness, provided always that no man who had ever been honored by his people with a respectable office could ever be anything but an outlaw. This proclamation was by some means scattered through the armies of the Confederacy, and excited mirth rather than repentance.

4. Equally ignorant of the temper of the Southern man, Gen. Grant issued a circular (Special Order, No. 82), had

thousands of copies printed and sent to all the United States commanders throughout the Confederacy for circulation by kites and otherwise among Confederate troops, in which he made tempting promises if they would desert, one being that they should have remunerative employment at army posts, navy yards, arsenals, &c.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NORTH CAROLINA'S SHARE OF THE 600.

Of the 600 Confederate prisoners sent to Charleston for exposure to the fire of Confederate guns, 111 were North Carolinians. On reaching Hilton Head seven of them were sent to a hospital at Beaufort, S. C., being so afflicted that Gen. Foster thought it prudent to thus dispose of them. The list, as corrected by Col. John L. Cantwell, is as follows, the few being omitted who disgraced themselves by taking an oath to support the Federal authorities in everything they had done or might do:

Abernathy, S. S., Wake County,
Alexander, W. J., Wilkes County,
Allen, W. B., Wake County,
Allen, T. M., Fair Field,
Allison, M. B., Webster,
Albright, G. N., Melville,
Andrews, H. C., Orange County,
Anderson, W. T., Fayetteville,
Avant, G. W., Chatham County,
Barrow, T. P., Washington,
Brown, Alex. H., Longstreet,
Blair, J. A., Macon County,
Blair, J. C., Boone,
Bloodworth, J. H., Wilmington,
Blue, E. McN., Moore County,
Bohannon, S. S., Yadkin County,
Bradford, N. G., Lenoir County,
Bromly, C. R., Concord,
Brothers, J. W., Kinston,
Burgin, J. M., Marion,
Bullard, D. S., Owenville,
Bullock, Jno. T., Tranquillity,
Birkhead, B. W., Ashboro,
Busbee, C. M., Raleigh,
Cantwell, Jno. L., Wilmington,
Carr, Robt. B., Duplin County,

Carver, E. A., Forestville,
 Chandler, W. B., Yanceyville,
 Coffield, J. B., Tarboro,
 Coggin, J., Montgomery County,
 Cockerham, D. S., Yadkin County,
 Cole, Alex. T., Rockingham,
 Coon, David A., Lincolnton,
 Cooke, Geo. L., Graham,
 Cowan, Jno., Wilmington,
 Coble, Geo. S., Graham County,
 Cowper, J. C. C., Murfreesboro,
 Crapon, Geo. M., Smithville,
 Crawford, T. D., Washington,
 Darden, J. H., Snow Hill,
 Day, Wm. H., Halifax,
 Davis, A. B., Wilson,
 Dewar, W. A., Harnett County,
 Dixon, H. M., Moore County,
 Doles, W. F., Nash County,
 Earp, H., Johnston County,
 Elkins, J. Q., Whiteville,
 Fennell, Nich. H., Sampson County,
 Floyd, F. F., Leesville,
 Folk, G. N., Morganton,
 Fowler, H. D., Rolesville,
 Frink, J. O., Cerro Gordo,
 Gash, H. Y., Hendersonville,
 Guyther, Jno. M., Plymouth,
 Gamble, J. E., Shelby,
 Gordon, W. C., Morganton,
 Gowan, B. A., Whiteville,
 Gurganus, J. A., Onslow County,
 Howser, A. J., Lincolnton,
 Harget, J. M., New Bern,
 Hargrove, T. L., Oxford,
 Hart, E. S., Bostick's Mill,
 Hartsfield, J. A., Rolesville,
 Hartsfield, L. H., Kinston,
 Heath, J. F., New Bern,
 Henderson, T. B., Jacksonville,

Henderson, L. J., Onslow County,
 Hines, Jno. C., Clinton,
 Hines, S. H., Milton,
 Highly, G. P., Lumberton,
 Hobson, J. M., Rocksville,
 Horne, H. W., Fayetteville,
 Ivy, W. H., Jackson,
 Jenkins, H. J., Murfreesboro,
 Jones, W. T., Moore County,
 Johnson, Wm. P., Charlotte,
 Johnson, T. L., Edenton,
 King, J. E., Onslow County,
 Kitchin, W. H., Scotland Neck,
 Knox, J. G., Rowan County,
 Kyle, J. K., Fayetteville,
 Lane, C. C., Snow Hill,
 Lane, J. W., Hendersonville,
 Latham, J. A., Plymouth,
 Lindsay, G. H., Madison,
 Lindsay, J. B., Wadesboro,
 Leatherwood, A. N., Ford Hendry,
 Lewis, Thos. C., Wilmington,
 Loudermilk, Z. H., Randolph County,
 Lyon, R. H., Black Rock,
 McDonald, J. R., Fayetteville,
 McIntosh, Frank, Richmond County,
 McLeod, Murdock, Carthage,
 McMillan, J. J., Wilmington,
 McRae, W. G., Wilmington,
 Mallett, C. P., Fayetteville,
 Malloy, J. D., Buck Horn,
 Moore, J. W., Wilmington,
 Mosely, N. S., Warrenton,
 Murphy, Wm. F., Clinton,
 Patrick, F. F., Columbia,
 Parham, S. J., Henderson.

A few of the 600, including W. H. Kitchin, were confined in a felon's cell at Hilton Head for the offense of cut-

ting buttons off the coats of oath-takers, who, Gen. Foster wrote to Gen. Halleck, were "the most worthless and unreliable fellows in the whole lot".

PRISONERS FROM OTHER STATES.

In the list of prisoners from other States, as it stands in Maj. Murray's "The Immortal Six Hundred", I recognize the names of a few gentlemen whom I have known, as Charles F. Crisp, Speaker of the 52nd and 53rd Congresses; James B. McCreary, who served with me in Congress, and is now a Senator from Kentucky; and James E. Cobb, who represented an Alabama District in the 52nd and 53rd Congresses; and in the list of 50 prisoners who were sent for retaliatory purposes before the 600 is the name of William H. Forney, of Alabama, who served with me in Congress.





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